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Edited by J. Alan Kay, M.A., Ph.D.

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CHRISTIANITY AND EDUCATION

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Editorial Comments

CHRISTIANITY AND EDUCATION

IN A SENSE there has always been education, for those who have little knowledge have always learnt from those who have more, and in particular, children have always learnt from adults, especially their parents. But the organized education of children is also a very ancient thing. The remains of schools, with benches in which the children sat, have been dug up in Mesopotamia and are said to date from about a thousand years before Christ. There are papyrus remains from Egypt which teach us something of what the school books were like there at about the same period. In the Hellenic age in Greece, although there were no schools where children spent their whole time in a continuous course of instruction, there were professional teachers of various kinds (*grammatistes*, *citharistes*, and *paedotribes*) to which boys were taken by their slaves that they might study as individual pupils. The Jews were greatly inferior in literary culture to the Egyptians and Babylonians, and the average boy of, say, Isaiah's time never went to school—indeed the Old Testament has not even a word for such a place—but some boys were taught to read and write: Isaiah mentions a child being able to write (10₁₉) and records the words of those who told him that he himself behaved like a teacher who thought it his business to instruct grown men in their ABC (28₉₋₁₀).¹ By the time of Christ the situation in Palestine was of course very different, and A. C. Bouquet says that there were 'schools at least in every town, and compulsory education in them for all children above the age of six'. The syllabus, however, was almost entirely religious; there was no mathematics, no science, no physical training, and no general history or geography.

It is not surprising that the Church has always been concerned with education. Every man has in some degree the desire to find out and know, and every man can see the advantages of being able (at least) to read and write. Christians have as much intellectual curiosity and as much sense of the value of literacy as anyone else, and one therefore expects them to be no less interested in education than non-Christians. But they have other motives to add to these.

Their treasure and guide is the Bible, and it can only be used with full effectiveness if it can be read; so it is not surprising that Christians both desire

¹ The translation of the EVV, 'precept upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, (and) there a little', is said to be almost certainly wrong. It is suggested that we should read 'for it is s-s, s-s, q-q, q-q, a lad here (and) a lad there', and should understand that the Israelite teacher made his pupils repeat the letters of the alphabet in turn (q follows s in the Hebrew alphabet). This suggestion, says E. W. Heaton, is confirmed by the word 'alphabet' itself, which is associated with the Hebrew for groaning, moaning and muttering, and suggests the monotonous, sing-song repetition of the scribe's class.

to read themselves, and desire to teach others to read so that they can share in the treasures of their book.

They remember, too, that Christ Himself, quoting Deuteronomy, commanded them to love God with all their heart and soul and strength, and that He added to His quotation the words 'and with all thy mind'; and they see that they cannot love with all their mind if their mind is not developed.

Further, it has been clear to many of them that in learning about the things God has made and done, they are learning something about the nature of God himself. When Fabre was studying the cross-pollination of flowers by insects, there came over him a sense of almost incredulous awe: 'Before those mysteries of life', he cried, 'reason bows and abandons itself to adoration of the Author of these miracles.' As Rupert Davies in *An Approach to Christian Education* has said: 'Science, art, history and non-Christian religions and philosophies . . . can be genuine revelations of the character and nature of God. . . . When they are fully and properly understood they give us information about God which cannot be derived from any other source', though that information is 'partial, incomplete' and 'fragmentary'. And not only can they give us information, but they 'can give personal fellowship with God', though only 'on the levels below the "I and thou" relationship'.

Yet another consideration is the fact that Christians are charged with the task of spreading their Faith, and they have believed that this is more effectively done by those who have informed and trained minds; thus Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius* was written at the request of Pope Clement IV in order to show that the new knowledge was a friend of the Christian faith and an aid in the evangelization of mankind.

Finally, Christians are characteristically concerned with service, and to contribute to the education of their fellow men has seemed to them to be one of the obvious ways of service. They have delighted to pass on the good things which they themselves enjoy, and to fit others (especially children) for life by giving them informed minds, training them in various skills, imparting to them a true knowledge of values, and developing and disciplining their characters.

We are not surprised therefore to find that the Church not only followed the command of Jesus to teach all nations religion, but understood the Holy Spirit to command it to teach in a more general sense. In the fourth century we find the first traces of the Church's concern about elementary schools, and after that date, in the decrees of Synod and Council, we repeatedly come across injunctions to educate the young. The clergy were held to be responsible for giving children 'the first notion of letters', and then the monasteries were instructed to open schools for the children of their neighbourhood. A council at Rome in A.D. 826 ordered that episcopal schools should be opened in towns, village schools in the country, and other schools wherever necessary; and although this injunction was not fully obeyed at the time, efforts were made in many places to promote this good work, about which the Church was so much concerned.

In similar ways the Church's interest in education has continued to the present day. In a later article in this issue we are reminded that the foundations of our educational system in this country were laid by the Church. The public schools in England owe their very existence to the religion in whose name they

were set up, and their reform in the nineteenth century which was brought about by Arnold of Rugby and his disciples was almost entirely due to a revival in the schools of a Christian morale. The English elementary school system was also created mainly by the voluntary efforts of armies of Christian men and women; and although one must gladly recognize the contribution of philanthropists like the Utilitarian radicals, 'it was the Sunday schools from the days of Robert Raikes onwards', A. W. Harrison once said, 'that stimulated English popular education into life'. What proportion of teachers are now trained directly by the State we do not know, but at the beginning of the last war, half the work of training the teachers of England and Wales was still done by the Churches.

Overseas the position is still more striking. Father Huddlestone has recently told us that in 1945 there were in South Africa 4,360 Mission schools and only 230 Government schools, and that of those 230, four-fifths had been built only within the previous twenty years. 'Over a hundred years ago, when European Missions started educational work in South Africa, they started it alone', and 'apart from Missionary effort, there would have been no African education in South Africa at all'.

Today the need for Christian teachers continues and indeed increases. It is still true that in learning about the things God has made and done, we are learning about God Himself, and that through them we can even be brought into some degree of fellowship with Him. But whereas the attitude and life of a Christian teacher can bring these things home to the scholars, the attitude and life of the non-Christian teacher will conceal them.

We need Christian teachers, too, to deal with the new situation in the teaching of religious knowledge. Its importance in education is now recognized and its teaching is compulsory. But if there are insufficient Christian teachers, as there are, the result must be that the subject is often taught by non-Christians. No doubt very many of them do this work as conscientiously and sympathetically as they can, but their attitude must fall very far short of the Christian one, and this cannot but affect their work. Where such teaching is done by those who are actively unsympathetic to the Christian Faith, the result must be disastrous, as we can see when we think of the teacher who lately said: 'Of course I only teach the Old Testament; I've no time for this soppy Jesus stuff.' Most of us would rather our children were not taught religion at all than that they were taught it by non-Christians.

It has been said that the main results of education are by-products, and one of the most important of these by-products is a sense of moral values. Those who have intimate contact with the schools of our country are shocked at the extreme need of moral values which they so often find. In certain 'tough' areas it is not unknown for knives to be used in incidents which take place after the children have been released from school; there are places where a number of the girls of the top class are away from school because they are having babies; and there are many occasions when a teacher who has told a pupil to get on with his work is asked quite genuinely 'But why should I work, Miss?' These incidents are not imaginary or isolated; we have the facts on the authority of those who know them at first hand and know a number of them.

No doubt there is a host of non-Christian teachers who are doing good work in meeting situations of this kind, but we could wish that there were more committed Christians in our schools setting before the children a Christian way of life, and infecting them with Christian attitudes. It would be a very good thing if some of our Christian graduates who are first-class teachers would offer to work in such schools, looking upon themselves as missionaries called to do this piece of service as their life-work for Christ.

BOOK REVIEWS

On a later page we print a tribute to the work and character of Dr Charles Ryder Smith, who was for many years the Editor of the review section of this Quarterly, and whose death a few months ago deeply grieved us all. We are, however, delighted to be able to announce that our reviews will in future be edited by another well-known and distinguished scholar, Dr R. Newton Flew.

WHY SHOULD THE CHURCH BE INTERESTED IN EDUCATION?

IT IS A measure of the secularization and materialism of our age that this question should be asked at all. As long as Christendom was a reality, men took it for granted that the search for truth was a religious pursuit: it was therefore one of the tasks of the Church to promote it. There is no need to illustrate this by more than a reference to the religious names of most of the colleges in our ancient universities and the pious mottoes of most of our long-established schools. Chaucer's scholar of Oxford, who was maintained in his studies by the charitable gifts of religious men, and who earned his keep by praying for his benefactors, would have been very astonished that anyone could question the need for the Church's concern in education. But it is doubtful whether most people who endow chairs in universities today do so with very high hopes of deriving benefit from vicarious petitions. And yet the assumption that true religion is closely linked with sound learning has not yet completely vanished from our scheme of things, in spite of all that has happened to the medieval synthesis since the philosophers and the scientists of the last 150 years got to work on it. The provision for what is known as an 'act of worship' in schools, which is to be found in Mr Butler's Education Act, illustrates the tenacity with which our largely secular society has clung to the idea (or superstition) that there must be at any rate some room in our educational system for the historic faith from which—as a matter of fact—the system itself springs.

Educational problems have become more urgent since we have decided, during the last hundred years, that education is important enough for everybody to be made to have some of it. We have therefore taken the dangerous step of teaching all our citizens how to read, and have thus made them more vulnerable to the educational process than most people have ever been before. Our national distrust of doctrinaires has made us unwilling to formulate any very precise picture of what we hope to achieve by this extension of education. But we are sure that it ought to be extended, and we feel dimly that if only we can educate enough people they will be able to put some reality into the lip-service which we pay to democracy. And yet we have only a very sketchy concept of what ought to be the content of this education. We know, of course, that it will have to contain a good deal of technology, but it is fashionable to say that this is not enough. What more do we need?

The question is being answered, not only by professional educationists, but by a host of people who are just as influential in education as schoolmasters: some of them are far more influential. As I have already said, once people had been taught to read they became vulnerable to the educational process. Newspaper proprietors, journalists at all levels, advertisers, film producers, and those who make use of the media of wireless and television—these are the modern oracles with whom the man who calls himself a teacher has to compete. In the old days—not so very long ago—people relied on the parson and the schoolmaster to extend, for them, the frontiers of their knowledge. New information came slowly, and people had no difficulty in absorbing it and fitting it into their philosophy of life. Today a man may have his political faith undermined by a slick and calculated mixture of fact and comment in his

morning paper; he may observe in the afternoon, at the cinema, a practical abandonment of ethics which is held up for him to admire, and which would have shocked an Athenian twenty centuries ago; and in the evening some confident astronomer or physicist, in the guise of a philosopher, may come into his home by way of the television screen and attack his religious faith by importing the prestige of scientific eminence into a sphere in which it has no relevance.

Clearly there is much in all this which is sheer gain. Modern techniques can be used as aids to enlightenment and without them our lives would be impoverished. It is good, no doubt, that the exclusive tyranny of Church and school in the realm of education should be broken down and that variety should add richness to our sources of instruction. Only let us remember the price that we pay. Since we draw, not only our information, but also our values, not from one source, but from many, the philosophy of life of the ordinary citizen is becoming increasingly chaotic, and if we are to maintain any common way of life we shall have to find some method of restoring the pattern—if there is a pattern.

To put the problem another way: there are now two distinct sources of influence where formerly there was only one, which we must distinguish when we talk about education. There is education, by which I mean the process carried out consciously in schools and universities by professional teachers: this in the past has been the concern of the Church, through the schools, colleges and places of learning which it established, and of the family. Secondly, there is 'educations'. I cannot find any other word to convey what I mean by this. It is more than propaganda, which suggests a conscious intention to spread a point of view. Much of the influence of 'educations' is unconscious and sporadic. I mean by 'educations' all those channels through which views of life, half-truths, and information are enabled to enter our minds and influence our thinking—the cinema, the newspaper (in all its forms), wireless, and television. There has never been any comparable equivalent in the past for 'educations' except (for a limited number of people) such art forms as the popular theatre and oratory.

It is therefore apparent that we are faced with a new situation. It is not surprising that the philosophy of life of the ordinary person is becoming increasingly chaotic, as I have said, since it is being based on a wider variety of sources than ever before, and being formed largely by those media which I have called 'educations'. We cannot, in the nature of things, expect a coherent pattern to emerge from 'educations'. For it so happens that this sudden increase in the number of sources of influence has coincided with a widespread breakdown of belief. In the Western world, at any rate, we have lost the pattern, and since we have ceased to believe in an Authority, we are not perturbed by the almost daily increase in the number of rival authorities. In so far as this represents a democratic willingness to let every man have his say, it is all to the good, but I fear that what we are faced with is really an apathy born of despair: if there is no way of finding out the truth, let us at least have as many varieties of error as possible!

If this chaos which is wrought in the mind by 'educations' is to be combated, it is clear that only education can do it. And anyone who thinks seriously about

the problem will agree that this is our supreme educational task; it takes precedence even over the technology by which we hope to maintain and to raise our standard of life. Unless we can have quality and meaning in life, what is the good of increasing our luxuries and keeping the body alive a little longer? In the great ideological struggle, the Marxist pattern must be met by an alternative scheme, not the absence of all shape and sense. But 'educations' cannot meet the need; it deals with the problems piecemeal, as they come, and leaves the mind groping for some master-light. Minds reared on this kind of hand-to-mouth philosophy will fall an easy prey to sterner views of life when the bleak winds of economic crisis prevail. The source of 'educations' is arbitrary, and often irresponsible; if the problem of the terrifying vulnerability of the ordinary person confronted with a newspaper or a television programme is to be tackled at all, it must be tackled by those whose values are not arbitrary and who possess a sense of responsibility. If this is not what education is for, then what is it for?

Purposeful education, of course, is dangerous. It may become the vehicle of propaganda (in the bad sense of that word). In the wrong hands it may put paid to democracy. But its absence is more dangerous. We know what the wrong kind of purpose in education can do to a nation; we have seen it tragically in the totalitarian states of our age. What we are less aware of is the dangerous vacuum in the realm of value which has been created in our Western world because we suspect authority and we falsely call our suspicion democratic. The alternative to the wrong kind of purpose is not no purpose at all; it is the right kind of purpose. This should be too obvious to need stating, but the hard fact is that it is not. Bernard Shaw—a very representative twentieth-century man—said some very harsh things about people who dared to try to exercise a positive influence on the character of children in education. He had forgotten this when he subsequently praised Stalin's clear-cut programme in the Soviet schools. But at least he had learned the perils of anarchy, even though, when he came to see the need for authority, he chose a prophet who has now been publicly repudiated by all his previous disciples except—so far—the Dean of Canterbury.

If we agree that we must have a purpose, a coherent view of life, an authority for our standards of conduct and for the content which we give to such concepts as justice and freedom, then where are we to find it? In politics or economics? The danger of looking for it there needs no stressing—and anyhow, these activities are concerned with means but not with ends. This is a religious task—and opportunity.

There is another consideration—of enormous importance in the future of education—that I have room to refer to only briefly here. The content of our curriculum will have to become increasingly technological. More and more of our best students will have to spend more and more time on the natural sciences. In the fairly near future they will be compelled to specialize even more narrowly, and to choose, not merely, as now, between science and the humanities, but between one science and another. It will no longer be significant to refer to a man as a scientist—a word which is already being used unscientifically. You cannot usefully paste the same label on an astro-physicist and a marine biologist and claim that you have accurately described them both.

Let it be granted that the case against specialization has been overstated, and that the case against the natural sciences as instruments of education has been ridiculously overstated: when all is said, we know that we must educate people in human values as well as in technology and we must enable the specialist to communicate with one another about other things than their specialisms. This cannot ultimately be done by grafting on arbitrary survivals of a human culture; it will have to be determined by a religious philosophy of the nature of man.

Is there any need to ask why the Church should be interested in education? Why is there a Church and why are we in it? Christians need to remind themselves that they are not in the world in order that they may go to church; they are in the Church in order that they may go into the world. Here is the most important field of evangelistic endeavour for the next generation. Our standard of living demands that we take education seriously and make it efficient. Our democratic belief demands that we take it seriously and make it balanced. Our religious loyalty demands that we take it seriously and make it Christian. The schools were once, as we have seen, the preserves of the Church and the prerogative of the clergy; now, secularized and—largely—State-controlled, they present the Christian layman with perhaps the most compelling contemporary challenge. The typical citizen of these islands in 1956 is not often found in church, but his children are in the schools and the Church can find them there. It is one of our most urgent duties to see to it that the rising generation, as it forms its views on life and marshals the mental equipment by which it must live, is guided by men and women who are not only masters of educational technique, but are able to share, because they themselves have seen it, the vision without which the people perish.

DONALD HUGHES

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRE-REFORMATION CHURCH TO EDUCATION

IN THESE days, when education is so largely the concern of the State and the local authorities, it is salutary to remind ourselves that they are very recent entrants to the educational scene, and that for many centuries the provision and control of all types of education was in the hands of the Church. It was not until 1833 that the State hesitatingly entered the field by allocating a grant of £20,000 a year for the building of school houses.

Education came to this country in company with Christianity. When Augustine converted Ethelbert of Kent and his people and established his see at Canterbury, it was not long before the first English school appeared. Its lineal descendant is the King's School, Canterbury, named in reference, not to Ethelbert, but to Henry VIII, who refounded it after the breach with Rome. This school aimed at educating young men for the ministry and training choristers for chanting the Cathedral services.

Similar schools were established as integral parts of the foundation of other cathedrals. Thus at York, the school of the Minster was probably founded by Paulinus, and its descendant is St Peter's School. As A. F. Leach, the pioneer in the study of early English schools, pointed out, it is not difficult to discover the approximate dates of the foundation of the earliest English schools. It is only necessary to look for the date of the first endowed cathedral, and 'there we shall find the first endowed grammar or public school, and for the second to find the second, and so on'.

It was not long, however, before schools were established in association with collegiate churches and monasteries. Most monasteries possessed a school for the training of their novices, but in some of them, as at Westminster and St Albans, lay youths were admitted. After the Norman Conquest, schools sprang up in connexion with devotional and craft gilds, with hospitals, and from the thirteenth century as part of chantry foundations. These last are extremely important in the development of English education, because a large number of our ancient grammar schools were originally chantry foundations.

At the end of the eighth century, Alcuin, who was establishing schools in the dominions of Charles the Great, wrote to the Archbishop of York and advised that the cathedral school should be divided into three departments, 'those who read books, those who serve the chanting of the services, and those who are assigned to the study of writing'. There is no evidence to show how soon this advice was put into operation, but soon after the Conquest the triple organization of grammar, song, and reading and writing schools was to be found at York and other cathedral schools. In some cases the three departments were housed in the same building, the grammar master being recognized as head of the school.

In very early days the bishop taught in the cathedral school, but as his duties increased he delegated the work of the grammar school to a schoolmaster, who by the end of the twelfth century became known as the chancellor. The bishop continued to teach in the theological school, but eventually gave up this part of his work to the chancellor. One of the chief duties of the latter was the licensing of the grammar schoolmasters; the precentor, who was in charge of the cathedral music, was responsible for appointing the master of the song school.

The medieval Church took the licensing of schoolmasters as a serious business. The chancellor investigated the academic qualifications, character, experience, and ability of the applicant. One of the earliest accounts of the induction and appointment of a schoolmaster is to be found in the Chapter Act Book of Beverley Minster. On 30th September 1306 the Chancellor, Robert of Bitham, and the Chapter interviewed Roger of Bolton, who was a candidate for the mastership of Beverley Grammar School. The collation of Roger to the school was then read:

Robert of Bitham, Chancellor of the Church of Blessed John of Beverley, to his dearly beloved in Christ, Master Roger Bolton; Greetings in the name of the Lord. Desirous of rewarding the merits of your character and discretion with special favour we publicly confer upon you the office of Master of the School of Beverley which is now vacant, and to teach there for three years. In witness whereof, our seal is by our will placed to these presents. Dated at Beverley, 2 Kalends of October, A.D. 1306.

The next step was to read the testimonial of Roger Bolton to the Chapter. It consisted of a letter from Richard Aston, deputy of Stephen Segrave, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and stated that the candidate had been assiduous in his studies at the University, that as regent master he had given instructions in the liberal arts with good results, and that his conduct had been excellent. The Chapter agreed that Roger was a fit and proper person to be appointed. He then took the oath:

I, Roger, will be faithful and obedient to the Chapter of Blessed John of Beverley, and to its officers and their lawful commands. I will faithfully teach the school given into my charge, or see that it is taught by suitable deputies, and I will observe all that the customs of the Church and School demand. So help me God and the Holy Evangelists.

The ceremony concluded with the induction of the new master by Alan of Hambledon, the Master of the Works.

In the Middle Ages the profession of schoolmaster seems to have been a lucrative one; otherwise it would be difficult to explain the numerous instances of individuals who taught an unlicensed or 'adulterine' school. Beverley produced a whole crop of unlicensed schoolmasters, but the most famous example was at Gloucester. In 1410, John Hamlyn, master of Gloucester Grammar School, brought an action in the Court of Common Pleas to restrain Thomas More from keeping an unlicensed school. The case was heard by the Lord Chief Justice and two judges. Hamlyn asserted that his rival was trespassing on his rights, and claimed damages. The verdict was that the law of England did not support such a monopoly. Teaching a school was *une chose espiritual* and came under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. This decision was quoted by the Church of England in the nineteenth century to justify the claim to exclusive control of education.

Many schools were described as 'free schools', and some controversy has taken place as to the meaning of the term. Leach suggested that free schools were those in which all or part of the scholars were admitted without paying tuition fees. The present writer supports his view, adding that this line of action was taken to avoid the operation of the Statute of Mortmain, which prohibited the bequeathing of property to a corporation such as a cathedral or monastic chapter or college of a university. If, however, the bequest was purely charitable, a licence in Mortmain exempting it from the operation of the statute could be obtained. Thus William of Wykeham, when he founded Winchester College, was careful to obtain a licence in Mortmain. Charitable intention could be proved if a number of pupils were admitted without paying tuition fees.

The curriculum of the school of York embraced all branches of knowledge

the so-called Seven Liberal Arts; but when the universities developed, the Trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric), with the addition of religious instruction, constituted the curriculum of the grammar school. The Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) was studied at the university. The teaching was entirely oral. The master alone would possess a manuscript, which he used as the basis of his instruction. Most attention was given to Latin grammar; but rhetoric, the art of public speaking, was considered important for the official class which developed under feudalism, and logic was thought to be useful in the detection of heresies.

No grammar school education was available for girls. They attended with the boys at the parish schools, but wealthy families sent their daughters to convents for their education. There are many instances of this in East Anglia, but the ecclesiastical authorities frowned on this practice because it disturbed the devotional life of the sisters.

Like the schools, the universities were the creation of the medieval Church. It is difficult to say when they first appeared, for their growth was a slow and silent one, and often a university flourished for years before it was recognized by a royal decree or a papal Bull. It is generally acknowledged that the earliest university was at Salerno in southern Italy, but, as this was predominantly a medical school, it had little influence on the development of other universities. Towards the middle of the twelfth century a law university flourished at Bologna, but from the English point of view the developments at Paris were of greater importance, for Paris was the mother of our own universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The medieval university was an association of teachers and learners which may be compared with the craft gilds of the time. One of the differences between Paris and the English universities was the way in which the collegiate system developed. In the early days the scholars lived in lodgings or houses which they rented, but as the custom of living in *hospitia*, or hostels, grew, benefactors of the universities began to endow houses for poor scholars. Eventually some of these houses or halls became recognized as legal corporations and developed into colleges. Merton College, Oxford, was the earliest to develop in this way and statutes were devised to regulate the life and conduct of the fellows. In 1284, Peterhouse, Cambridge, adopted statutes similar to those at Merton. The same development took place at Paris, but there the University was quick to exercise its authority over the colleges. In England, the colleges developed a good deal of independence, and one of the problems which faced the university reformers of the nineteenth century was how to give the university greater control of the colleges.

The university was indeed a gild of learning, and the system of academic degrees developed along lines similar to the procedure of a craft gild, in which an apprentice became first a journeyman and then a master craftsman. The undergraduate was an apprentice to learning, and on coming to the university he had to find a master who was willing to accept him and enter his name on the roll, or *matricula*. After three years of study under a master, he was allowed to 'determine', a test which took the form of a public disputation. If he was successful, he was allowed to continue his studies and do some teaching under the master's supervision. When he completed a further period, according to

the faculty he selected, he was presented with the licence to teach, and, in the formal ceremony known as the Inception, he was given the black *cappa* of the master, the biretta, and a book. This was the *traditio*, or symbolic presentation of the tools of the trade.

The entrance of the mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, produced significant changes in the universities. At Paris they were received with coldness by the secular and regular clergy, and this changed to hostility when they sought theological chairs in the university. Through the support of the Papacy and the outstanding ability of their leaders, St Boniface and St Thomas Aquinas, they eventually achieved recognition.

The Dominicans were the first to appear at Oxford. They came in 1220, and the Franciscans five years later. At first they were kindly received, but the arrogant claims of the Dominicans to free themselves from the observance of university regulations made them unpopular. In particular, they demanded a dispensation from graduating in arts before proceeding to the master's degree in theology. The dispute became very heated, and in 1313 there was a lawsuit, followed by an appeal to Rome. The British way of a compromise solution was adopted in 1320, but the costs of the legal proceedings put the University of Oxford into debt. They were saved by a grant, which was made by the Convocations of Canterbury and York.

The Franciscans cashed in on the unpopularity of the Dominicans and became the dominant influence at Oxford. They were assisted by the outstanding ability of their masters, Robert Grosseteste (later Bishop of Lincoln, who was not a Franciscan himself, but was reader at the Franciscan priory and eventually became the first Chancellor of Oxford), Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham. The Franciscan influence accounted to a great degree for the fact that the interests of Oxford diverged from Paris. The great Popes of the thirteenth century had carefully nurtured the University of Paris with the idea that it should become not only the University of the chief city of France, but the centre for theological study in Western Europe. Indeed, it did so become, but in the fourteenth century the growing power of the French monarchy brought about its submission to the King. As Paris declined, Oxford took its place, but the chief interests there were not in the realm of theology, but in mathematics, languages and natural science. Thus Roger Bacon was able to declare that Oxford was the only European university in which mathematics was properly taught.

Cambridge, which was quite a small university compared with Paris or Oxford, came into its own in the fifteenth century. Oxford numbered amongst its scholars many followers of Wycliffe. Cambridge was less influenced by his teaching. The result was that both the Church and the Crown began to favour Cambridge at the expense of Oxford.

The Dominican order had been formed to combat heresy, so that from its inception its members were well trained in intellectual discipline and were able theologians and philosophers. The Franciscans were devoted to the corporal works of mercy—tending the sick and aged and caring for the destitute. Events forced them to undertake theological and philosophical study, and eventually their theologians vied with those of the Dominicans.

These events were concerned with the introduction of the Aristotelian

philosophy in the west. Translations of and commentaries on the writings of Aristotle flowed into western Europe, and most of them bristled with errors or gave an exposition of doctrines which were anti-Christian. The Church became suspicious and banned the study of Aristotle until an accurate translation of his works was available.

In this connexion three names stand out: Albert of Cologne popularized the study of Aristotle in the universities, William of Moerbeke undertook the task of producing an accurate translation, and St Thomas Aquinas worked out a synthesis of the Aristotelian philosophy and the Christian faith which was the basis of the Scholastic philosophy. This term is used with another meaning to denote a method of teaching which employed the technique of the *lectio* (commentary on a prescribed text) and the *disputatio* (the discussion of a particular view in theology or philosophy). Space will not permit the treatment of the scholastic method, for we must now sum up the educational contribution of the medieval Church.

The Church preserved the best features of pre-Christian thought and handed them on to posterity. It aimed at providing a system of schools ranging from elementary instruction in reading and writing to the more advanced studies of the grammar school. In England the ideal of establishing a school in every parish was not as fully realised as in Scotland, but the ideal was there. The Church set much store by the grammar school and in founding such schools it was very successful. Indeed, most of the schools credited to Tudor sovereigns were refoundations of earlier schools which originated as described at the beginning of this article. Above all, we must bear in mind that the universities received their inspiration from the pre-Reformation Church. Whatever mistakes were made, we must in fairness attribute to the medieval Church the achievement of keeping alive the tradition of learning, and bequeathing to later ages an ideal which scholars of the Reformation period were by no means backward in realising. We can justly say that the English grammar school and the university were the creations of medieval Christianity.

S. J. CURTIS

THE PROTESTANT TRADITION IN EDUCATION

NO ONE wishes to discredit the immense achievement of the Scholastic philosophers in systematizing the knowledge available to the men of the Middle Ages, and in working out a system of education which made that knowledge available to those who were willing and able to undergo the necessary discipline. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century that achievement was played out. It was not only that the power of creative thinking seemed to have lapsed, and with it the ability to arouse enthusiasm in the students who still crowded to the Scholastic teachers. More serious was the fact that the pattern of thinking elaborated by the great Schoolmen and imprinted on the minds of many subsequent generations was no longer adequate to the situation.

Aristotle, the fountain-head of medieval philosophy, had taught the world of his time and, long afterwards, that the right way to acquire knowledge was the method of induction—to look at the natural world as it shows itself to the senses, to divide the phenomena thus observed into classes, and to proceed from these to general principles and universal laws. This method was, of course, accepted by the Schoolmen; they re-affirmed the good Aristotelian principle that there is nothing in the intellect that was not previously in the senses. But they tended to think that the classes and categories of the natural world had been discovered and laid down once and for all, that the general principles and universal laws according to which the world was ordered and governed were finally known and expounded. Therefore they fitted all human knowledge into these laws and principles, which they held to be unalterable. It had been definitely established that the sun goes round the earth; any further observations about the movement of the earth or of the heavenly bodies must either be fitted in with this known truth or be regarded as false. This method of looking at reality worked well enough while the body of knowledge remained more or less constant, as it did for long periods of the Middle Ages. But in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century discoveries were being made about the place of the earth in the universe, about the geography of the earth, about the habits and history of mankind, and about the capacities of the human mind and imagination, which no honest man could either fit into the orthodox scheme of human knowledge or dismiss as erroneous and blasphemous. The overcoat of medieval philosophy, which had once seemed so generous in its proportions, was now bulging at the seams. Hamlet's remark to Horatio is literally true as the protest of sixteenth-century man against his scholastic mentors:

*There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.*

A new start both in philosophy and education had to be made, and it was made in different ways by the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Renaissance—if we may use for convenience a rather inaccurate word which covers a multitude of often conflicting movements and describes a historical process rather than an event or a series of events—was not simply the rediscovery of

ancient Greek literature. It certainly was that; and to understand the freshness and enthusiasm which inspired the writers and thinkers of Italy, Germany and even, in due course, of far-off, backward England, we have to try to imagine what it meant to be reading Plato, Sophocles, Thucydides, Euripides and the rest in their original language for the first time (as it seemed) for many centuries. Perhaps nowadays we have even more exciting things to do; but Erasmus and his friends had not, and could not even imagine anything more exciting. A whole new universe was opened up, large enough and inviting enough to rouse the human spirit to cast off the trammels of outworn philosophy and dogma. But this was not all: with their spirit thus liberated, the men of the Renaissance turned to assimilate the new knowledge and to create new literatures. Thus were born modern science and modern culture.

The effect of this on education was in one sense immediate, in another delayed. Classical Latin (as distinct from Christian Latin) and Classical and New Testament Greek came quickly into the curriculum of the universities and of the schools, both those already founded and those soon to be founded under Renaissance influences. When John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, refounded his cathedral's school in 1509, with considerable help and guidance from Erasmus, he made it open to 'a hundred and fifty and three scholars of all nations and countries indifferently, to be taught free in the same, in good literature, both Latin and Greek'—and the latter phrase was soon taken to include pagan as well as Christian authors. The sciences were, of course, not yet taught; but the spirit of enquiry, encouraged by reading the classics, threw open the whole universe, natural and supernatural, to investigation, and did much to provide the atmosphere in which natural science could first be studied by the few, and ultimately taught to the many. The empirical, experimental approach of the Renaissance steadily ousted the *a priori* dogmatic approach of the Aristotelians in the great centres of learning in non-Roman Europe.

The spirit of the Reformation was different; yet it led in the end to many results that were much the same. Martin Luther was no humanist, the alliance between him and some of the humanists at the start of the Reformation was a precarious and short-lived affair. No one who reads the controversy between him and Erasmus can have any doubts about the reasons for that. Luther held that for the investigation of things 'below man'—physical things—the human reason was a fairly satisfactory instrument; but for the examination of things 'above man'—that is, all the things which affect human destiny—reason, until redeemed by Christ, was worse than useless. This meant, in effect, that although Luther never despised the sciences, and the study of history and geography and literature, and although he was very willing to bring reason into full play in philosophical and theological matters once it had lost its importance by submission to the divinely revealed truths of salvation, yet he never paid very much attention to the 'secular' subjects which interested the Renaissance, and was not vitally concerned that they should form an important part of education.

It is, curiously enough, one of his theological principles which explains why 'Renaissance' and 'Reformation' types of education tended to be similar in long-term results. Luther opposed the 'theology of the Cross', which he espoused, to the 'theology of glory', which he ascribed to the Schoolmen and

utterly rejected. The 'theology of glory', according to him, starts with a ready-made philosophy, derived from Aristotle, and fits the Biblical message, in the manner of Procrustes, into it—with disastrous results to the understanding of the Christian gospel. The 'theology of the Cross', on the other hand, starts with the 'given' facts of the Incarnation, Cross, and Resurrection, and argues, when argument is necessary, from them. In other words, it is an empirical theology. For instance, the doctrine of the Person of Christ is not derived from presupposed principles about the nature of deity and the essence of God; it is worked out from the known facts about Christ and the salvation which He has effected. We can philosophize as much as we like about Christ once we have absorbed the fundamental facts about Him; until then our logic is so much hairsplitting and our philosophy so much blasphemy.

Children need to be taught the Gospel, says Luther, from the earliest possible moment, and they are to be taught it from the Scriptures, where the facts are to be found. So it is that the Short Catechism, which he brought out in 1529 for the instruction of simple people, and children especially, and which, along with his reply to Erasmus, he wished to be preserved for posterity above all his other works, is based squarely on the Bible, which it explains in simple terms. It is in five parts, the first concerned with the Ten Commandments, as giving what the Bible has to say about sin, the second with the Apostles' Creed, as giving the Bible doctrine of forgiveness, the third with the Lord's Prayer, as indicating the true Christian's attitude of trust in God, the fourth with the Gospel sacrament of baptism, the fifth with the Gospel sacrament of the altar. It was to the same end, of impressing on the minds of all men from their earliest years the salient facts of the gospel, that Luther devoted his labours in translating and commenting on the books of Holy Scripture.

Luther was so appalled by the depths of ignorance and superstition into which the Roman Church had allowed the ordinary people of every country to sink—or, rather, from which the Roman Church had not allowed or encouraged them to rise—that he wished elementary schools to be set up everywhere by local authorities; here the education was to be compulsory, and to include as much as possible of the original languages of the Bible. The most important element in the curriculum was to be the study of the Bible. In fact, it is fairly clear that other subjects were chiefly to be taught, not for their own sake, but as necessary means to the fuller understanding of the Scriptures.

It is easy to see how this factual, Scriptural approach to religious education fitted in well with the educational practices of the Renaissance humanists. Their approach also to human knowledge was empirical, though in a different sense and in different grounds from Luther. They also wished the Bible to be read, if possible in the original. And from the inclusion of other subjects in the curriculum for their value as aids to religious understanding, as in the Lutheran schools, it was not a very far cry to their inclusion for their own sake, as in the schools of the Renaissance.

John Calvin was perhaps more friendly to secular culture and to the pagan classics than Luther, for he wrote in his youth an almost purely humanistic commentary on one of the works of Seneca. But as his reforming task took hold of him, his interest in non-theological literature decreased and virtually disappeared. Like Luther, he distrusted the approach to God through natural



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reason. It is true he held that the creation displays clear signs of the glory and power of God, and that both the learned student of nature and the illiterate peasant can hardly fail to be impressed by the evident beauty and splendour of God's handiwork; but he also held that man's sin had made it impossible for him to appreciate nature for what it truly is, the proof of God's supreme power and love, and that even if this were not so, the revelation of God through nature would not be sufficient to give complete knowledge of Him. This can only be gained through the Scriptures, which God has provided to complete what is in any case inadequate and to correct our sinful perversions of such knowledge as we have. Thus, for practical purposes, the Scriptures are the only really important source of knowledge. Therefore education consists above all in knowledge of the Bible, and Calvin's *Catechism of the Church in Geneva* and his *Instruction in Faith*, both admirable summaries of Biblical teaching, are designed to give this in simple language to both young and old. The other subjects which are to be taught in schools and universities are, as in Lutheranism, ancillary to the main purpose.

The only important difference between the educational policies of Luther and Calvin is that the latter was, as usual, more systematic and thoroughgoing. This was due, not only to the cast of his mind, but also to the circumstances in which he was placed. The Reformation, in the time of Calvin's greatest activity, was well established. But it was also encountered by an organized enemy. The Roman Church had purged its life, closed its ranks, and deployed its resources. This fact made paramount the evangelistic, polemical, and apologetic purposes of Calvinistic education. This comes out very clearly in the organization of the University of Geneva at the close of Calvin's life, and equally clearly in John Knox's educational policy for Scotland, which owed so much to the inspiration of his master. Every parish was to have an endowed school, every important town a high school or a college; the number and power of the universities, which had long been decaying, were to be vastly increased. Education was to be compulsory for the upper and lower classes of society; the middle class, Knox thought, could be trusted to fend for itself (it has often had to). The scheme was very partially carried out, but it has left its mark on Scottish education to this day.

In the centuries which have followed, Calvinistic education, like its Lutheran counterpart, has been combined with and assimilated to the humanistic tradition of the Renaissance. The union has in both cases been very often highly successful. The best of the older English and Scottish grammar schools are splendid examples of this. The Dissenting Academies of the eighteenth century in England, which were often much superior to the older universities, were very productive of both theological and scientific learning. Thomas Arnold's revival of the English public school in the nineteenth century, and his 'Christian gentleman' came, fairly directly, from the union of Renaissance and Reformation ideals.

Yet there are two ways in which the Renaissance-Protestant tradition in education has not reached the completeness in the modern world which the medieval ideal attained in the Middle Ages. The first is that it brings together two philosophies which, though superficially similar, are really in conflict with each other, and it has never yet reconciled them. The Renaissance—and of

course its offspring, the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century—rests essentially on the capacity of the human mind to find the truth for itself, and the method of education which results is that of bringing out the hidden powers of the child, as Socrates claimed to do. The Reformation rests on the 'givenness' of the divine revelation, and the education which results consists in training the child to hear and understand revealed truth. It may be that the two cannot be reconciled, although surely the hope of doing so should not be lost. Meanwhile we struggle on with both together, and try to solve in practice what we cannot deal with in theory. But we must expect to have constant arguments among educationalists about the place of religion in the syllabus and worship in the time table, and constant attempts to extrude religious education, except in the form of moral instruction, as irrelevant to the scientific age in which we live.

The other point at which the medieval teachers had an advantage over us was that they worked with a unified scheme of knowledge, a synthesis. This we have no longer. We cannot go back to the old one; and knowledge advances so quickly that few people are prepared to assay the task of building a new one. Meanwhile, every subject claims its autonomy, every scholar is only a specialist, and every intelligent child and University student is encouraged to know more and more about less and less.

RUPERT E. DAVIES

METHODISM AND EDUCATION

JOHN WESLEY'S CONTRIBUTION

IT WOULD have been surprising if Methodism had not been deeply concerned in education. John Wesley thought of education for young and old not only as a necessary part of his life-long campaign to spread scriptural holiness, but as something profoundly important in itself. 'Newly awakened people should, if it were possible, be plentifully supplied with books. Hereby the awakening is both continued and increased', he wrote to Francis Asbury.

Wesley came from a family of scholars and he looked back with gratitude and affection to his own school and college, though he was at the same time quite critical of their inadequacies. While in Georgia in 1735-6, following the example of his friend, Delamotte, he formed a school for the children of the settlers. In 1739 he found himself responsible for a school at Kingswood, which Whitefield had founded (Whitefield had collected some subscriptions and laid the corner-stone, but that was about all). In the same year the empty spaces of the Foundery in London and the abundance of children round about led him to open a school there.

But he did not plunge into these ventures or embark on the creation of his ideal school in the New House at Kingswood without a great deal of study and thought.

About forty years ago (he wrote in 1781) one or two tracts upon education came into my hands which led me to consider the methods pursued in that great school where I had been educated, and in such others as were in high repute. . . . I spent many thoughts on the subject and frequently conversed upon it with some of the most sensible men I knew. A few years after, I had the opportunity of enquiring concerning some of the most celebrated schools in Holland and Germany. But in these, as well as in our own, I found a few particulars which I could not approve of.

John Wesley's theory of Education was the outcome of the study of the best writers on the subject of his day, a recognition of the glaring faults in the schools then in existence, an awareness of the terrible needs of the children whom he met in his travels, and his own experience in teaching and organizing schools.

His understanding of the minds and ways of ordinary children was, by modern standards, deficient, and a good deal of criticism has been made against his insistence on 'breaking the child's will as soon as it is formed', and the long hours and spartan regime he laid down. But perhaps we are beginning again to appreciate the importance of teaching children to do as they are told, and to realize the children's need of grown-ups who will take the responsibility of telling them. The breadth of subjects in Wesley's curriculum and his methods of teaching were a great improvement on those commonly used at that date.

All his life he continued to think and work for his school at Kingswood. In 1753 he wrote: 'I endeavoured once more to bring Kingswood School into order. Surely the importance of the design is apparent even from the difficulties that attend it. I have spent more money, time and care on this than almost any design I ever had: and still it exercises all the patience I have. But it is worth all the labour.'

But education was not just for children in school; all the members of the societies should learn to read. They should read their Bibles and hymn-books, and go on to read all kinds of good books. He himself did much to see that the books were available and cheap enough for the purses of the people, writing some, abbreviating others, printing them at his own press and then sending them out through his preachers. 'Supply the poor people with all our books, with money or without', he wrote to one of them. And the preachers themselves were expected to spend at least five hours a day, in their houses or on horseback, studying and reading.

Under Wesley's leadership, Methodism brought not only a religious revival in the British Isles and countries overseas, but the beginnings of the movement for universal education.

AFTER WESLEY

After Wesley's death, the leaders of the Methodist movement were too busy with other matters to give much attention to the growing demand for education. But not so the members of the Societies at large. All over the land, particularly in the new industrial towns, Sunday-schools were being formed. For hundreds of thousands of children the only schooling they received was in the Sunday-schools. From an early age they were sent to work in factories and mines for twelve or more hours a day on six days of the week; it was their wild exuberance and uncouth behaviour on their one day of freedom that forced men and women to think of some way of using the hours of Sunday to benefit the children and to keep them quiet. Many Sunday-schools were attached to Methodist chapels; elsewhere, Methodists took a leading part in undenominational Sunday-schools and in those connected with parish churches.

In his last years John Wesley had seen many of the schools and given them his blessing. 'I am glad you have set up Sunday-schools at Newcastle', he wrote; 'this is one of the noblest institutions which has been seen in Europe for some centuries and will increase more and more. Nothing can prevent the success of this blessed work but the neglect of the instruments' (i.e. teachers). But it is strange that he did not himself insist on the Sunday-school being a necessary part of the life of every society.

Recently there has been some questioning of the Sunday-school as a way for the churches to train children. Emil Brunner has said: 'The Church took a wrong turning when it substituted the technique of the classroom for the technique of the community in religious education.' That is a criticism which is relevant to the Europe of today, when all children receive regular schooling throughout the week for nine or ten years of their life. But in the England of 150 years ago, for the children of the slums round the factories and mines, and in the impoverished villages, the Sunday-schools provided the one chance of some smattering of education in the three R's and religious truth. Of course, it was inadequate and many of the devoted teachers were of very limited attainments, but it was something.

In the years following the close of the Napoleonic wars, men were awakening to the need to provide schools for children of all classes. Christians of all denominations and those pressing for social reform all began to talk of a system

of universal education. The Church of England, which already had many grammar schools and village schools under its care, began to open schools in the new towns; here and there groups of Methodists and other Nonconformists were adding rooms to their chapels to house classes of children during the day or during the evenings after they left the factories.

The Wesleyan Conference began to give attention to what was happening in the 1830s. Samuel Jackson had for many years been urging that the Connexion should make itself responsible for the opening of more schools, but he pleaded in vain until the introduction of Brougham's Bill into Parliament suddenly aroused the alarm of the Methodists, as of other Nonconformists. (This Bill proposed that there should be a system of schools throughout the country connected with the parish churches of the Church of England.) Conference at last appointed a sub-committee to report on the situation and to make proposals for future action. In 1837 the report was presented, the work of Samuel Jackson, Richard Treffry, and William Atherton. It gave the numbers of Sunday-schools (3,339), of the teachers and scholars, and day schools directly connected with chapels (31), pointed out what needed to be done, and proposed that a permanent Committee should be set up. This was done, and from that date onwards the Education Committee has directed the educational work of the Connexion, its first report being presented in 1838. The lines of policy then laid were so sound that they have been followed ever since.

Before that general policy is considered, two things should be noticed. Firstly, something of John Wesley's breadth of vision and serenity had been lost. Education was seen by many as merely a means to an end, a way to earn more money or to make more useful workmen; the age was becoming a hard and competitive one. Secondly, plans for educational advance were confused and hampered by controversy—controversy between the Church of England and Nonconformists on the religious training to be given in the schools, and controversy between those who believed in 'religious education' (i.e. education based on Christian principles) and those who wanted secular education. Unfortunately, many of the Wesleyan leaders were becoming conservative and were growing so respectable that they were losing touch with the workers in the factories and getting out of sympathy with those fired with a passion for social righteousness. Some time in the 1830s it might have been possible to draw the progressive elements in the Church of England, the old Dissenters, and the social reformers into a single movement in support of a great educational advance, and who was better placed to do this than the Methodists? But the chance was missed, and the Chartist, the National Society, the British and Foreign School Society and the Methodists went their separate ways. A fine education system was built in time, but how much sooner it might have come, and how much better our schools might have been today, if all those working for the education of the children had worked together.

The lines of policy laid down in 1837 and 1838 by the Wesleyan Conference were as follows:

1. Christian education for the whole country could only be properly achieved if all the denominations would 'zealously unite' for this purpose.
2. 'Some inquiry should also be made into those chapels and Societies

with which no Sunday-schools are connected"—1,766 of them. "Surely there can be no impropriety in asking, "Why are these things so?"'

3. Day-schools should be established by the Methodist Societies or in conjunction with other Christians wherever there was need.

4. The aim should be to establish Christian schools. "What we wish for is, Church schools which may prove doors of entrance into the Church of God; education which may begin in an Infant School and end in heaven, and which will then subserve the high ends of Methodism, which are to fill the world with saints and paradise with glorified spirits."

5. The belief was expressed that 'at no distant date, the Government will take up the subject of national education' and 'a better system be established'. Meanwhile, let Methodists use their present buildings to open schools. 'Mr Wesley said he would not neglect the performance of a present duty through fear of distant and uncertain consequences. Should Popery and infidelity ever attempt under any pretence to take direction of the youthful mind of this country, it is to be hoped that Methodism will resist the attempt, even to the death.'

6. Men and women 'whose religious and moral character should previously have been certified by the Preachers of circuits' should be sought out and given adequate training as teachers for the schools.

THE LATTER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

All through the nineteenth century advance continued along most of these lines, though the hope of united Christian action in education faded.

The Sunday-schools increased rapidly in the number of schools, teachers, and scholars. Naturally, their importance as places of instruction in the three R's declined as more day-schools were opened, but they became much more significant as training grounds in Christian principles.

Large sums of money were contributed for the building and maintenance of Methodist day-schools; but one looks back with a sigh to the day when a school in Pickering, for instance, opened in 1856 for about 160 children, could be built for £1,230—big, airy, pleasant rooms which our school there is still using. In 1879 there were 851 Wesleyan day-schools with 121,000 children in them. The emphasis on the Christian basis of all true education was well maintained. From 1880, as the system of State schools grew up, the number of Methodist schools began to decrease, and it has gone on decreasing until today we have only ninety-five left. Many have deplored the disappearance of these schools, but from 1838 it has been our policy that it should be so. A multiplicity of denominational schools in every place would not be in the interests of the children; the 'dual system' of State schools and denominational schools has worked, but not very well. In 1844 a minister in Cornwall, pleading for a grant towards the cost of a new Wesleyan school, writes: 'If the children of our people are obliged to seek instruction from National (i.e. Church of England) schools, the parents and children must attend Church'; and similar complaints have gone on down the years; so that for many years our declared policy has been 'the establishment of public controlled schools in every district and the placing of a Christian unsectarian school within reasonable distance of every family'.

Since the creation of the Methodist Education Committee, it has been recognized that the only way to have Christian schools is to have Christian teachers. In 1841 the Committee began to send selected candidates to be trained in Stow's Glasgow Academy. In 1851 we opened our own training college in Horseferry Road, Westminster, for men and women students; in 1872 the women students moved to Southlands College in Clapham. During the nineteenth century Methodism did not make any large contribution in the field of grammar schools. In one or two places, attempts were made to found Methodist secondary day-schools, but they were not very successful. The story of the residential schools has been different, and today there are seventeen flourishing boarding schools directly connected with the Methodist Conference. Six of these (five for boys and one for girls) are Direct Grant schools, taking a good number of day boys and girls, and they are in effect the local grammar schools.

OVERSEAS

Beyond the shores of our country, wherever Methodism has spread, its part in education has been even more significant than in England. In North America, in Ireland, the West Indies, South America, Australia, and New Zealand Methodists have been pioneers in establishing schools at all levels, from primary school to university, both for the white settlers and the original peoples of the countries. The gradual expansion of State education has in nearly all these lands followed broadly the same pattern as in Britain, but still today in all of them there are great Methodist schools and colleges. In the lands to which our missionaries have gone in Asia and Africa, they have built up primary schools, secondary schools, teacher training colleges, and have shared in the founding of universities; so that today the Churches with which we are linked through our Missionary Society are responsible for over 1,900 schools, with a quarter of a million boys, girls, and young people in them. Naturally, they too are now facing the problem of fitting into expanding national educational systems.

TODAY IN ENGLAND

The Education Act of 1944 was a settlement of the long controversy over the place of religion in the schools. Mr Butler has said: 'Perhaps on a long view the best work we did in 1944 was to enshrine for the future in English educational law the ancient and unalterable truth that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.' There must now be a daily act of worship, there must be regular religious instruction in all schools, and Christian teachers are free to teach the truths of the Bible as well as they can. But the fact that there has been a settlement does not mean that the Church can turn to other things, content that the cause of Christian education for the children is now secure. There can be no Christian education without Christian teachers. We have our two great training colleges of Westminster, which is to be moved to Oxford in 1959, and Southlands. In most of the other 150 training colleges in England there are groups of Methodist students, and ministers stationed nearby are appointed to keep in touch with them; they do a remarkable work in building up the faith of

these young people and strengthening their loyalty to the Church. A similar work is being done by the Methodist ministers in university centres.

The rapidly increasing technical schools and colleges, with their great variety of whole-time and part-time courses, present a special problem and challenge to the Church, as they do to all concerned that there should be an all-round education for the young people going to them. So far we have not been very successful in finding how to approach them.

A hundred years ago the Methodist Education Committee was directing the work of Sunday-schools and day-schools. For many years now the work of the Sunday-schools has quite rightly been in charge of a separate department. But as the religious instruction in the day-schools improves and the outside distractions on a Sunday increase, it becomes more and more necessary for Christian teachers in day-schools and those in charge of Sunday-schools and work for young people in the Church to think out together how the part that each should play to give a Christian education that will 'begin in the infant school and end in Heaven'. This is a task to be undertaken locally in every church.

In spite of all the progress in education and the raising of the school-leaving age, not only are millions of our fellow citizens outside the Church utterly ignorant of the most elementary facts of the Christian faith, but even many of our own people do not know much about Christian doctrine or the Bible; they do not spend long hours studying the Bible, as their fathers did. Other Churches, in the same plight, are exploring ways of extending adult religious education among their members; Methodists need to recover Wesley's passion for education in Christian things throughout their lives so that they may truly serve God not only with their hearts and hands but with their minds too.

GEORGE R. OSBORN

EDUCATION—A MISSIONARY ACTIVITY OF THE CHURCH

'YOU HAVE nothing to do but to save souls' was not only one of the 'Rules of a Helper', but might also be taken as a summary of the aims of the pioneers of the Protestant Missionary Movement that sprang from the Evangelical Revival. Yet with constant regularity the pioneer evangelists opened schools in the countries to which they went and offered to them education on a Western pattern. When the local language had been learnt and a part, at least, of the Bible translated, the usual procedure was to open a school to teach the reading of the Bible. So the village school began. The boy pages of King Mwanga who, in May 1886, were put to death on his orders were called 'readers'. In other places besides Uganda this word was synonymous with 'Christians'. The vast programme of educational work undertaken by the Church in more recent years has developed from these beginnings, in which the emphasis was upon the building up of the Church, the training of Church workers, and the preparation of the few for posts in Government and trade.

The story of the past 150 years of educational work undertaken by the Church overseas can be referred to in headlines only. It is treated as part of the missionary activity of the Church. If illustrations from Africa predominate, the excuse is that the writer's own experience of this work was in that continent. The branches of education that need to be considered are: the education of the rising generation in primary schools, of potential leaders in centres of higher education, of teachers, of adults, and of workers in the Church. Present-day conditions also raise fundamental questions for the Church: its relation to the State in education, its view of education in practice, and its reason for undertaking any educational work at all.

EDUCATING THE NEXT GENERATION

'In British tropical Africa, as in Britain itself, formal education of the Western type began through the work of Christian Churches. Missionary work in parts of West Africa has a continuous history of nearly 150 years, and in East and Central Africa the missionaries were at work even before British rule was established' (*African Education*, O.U.P., p.2). Until recent years, about 90 per cent. of the primary schools in Africa (south of the Sahara) were Church and Mission schools. At the end of 1955 the Methodist Church alone, in its overseas Districts (not including South India), was responsible for over 2,000 elementary day-schools with approximately 350,000 scholars. This was an increase over the previous year of 100 schools and about 40,000 pupils. The Government grants administered by the Methodist Church overseas, almost entirely on behalf of education, totalled £1,100,000 in 1955.

The Church has sought not only to provide for the education of the children of its own members, but has almost invariably opened its schools to any who would come, believing that by this means not only Western education but also a Christian influence would come to bear upon the rising generation. Such primary schools have varied from the small 'bush' school of earth walls and grass roof accommodating thirty pupils of varying ages, to the two-stream

school with eight- or ten-year courses, with from 600 to 800 pupils housed in airy classrooms built of permanent materials. The management of all these Church primary schools has rested with the missionary or minister of the nearest church. The increase in this responsibility has created one of the largest problems in the Church overseas, for, in spite of the possibility of influencing teachers, scholars, and parents through the schools, the size of the task of management makes it impossible for this influence to be other than spasmodic and meagre, and at the same time it absorbs so much time and effort that other ministerial tasks cannot be done effectively. In many areas the task is getting out of the range of the resources of the Church. How is it to be transferred to another—presumably the State's—authority?

EDUCATING THE POTENTIAL LEADERS

To make the Christian school a place where the likely future leaders of a country were taught has usually been in the forefront of the Church's educational strategy. In many areas this aim has been so far achieved that the influence of the Church has been out of all proportion to its numbers. The means used have been secondary schools and colleges (some of the latter have been of university standard). How many are the leaders in India, people whose names carry meaning not only for the Church, but also for the whole nation, who have had their higher education in Christian colleges, such as Serampore and Tambaram. In each of the newer but growing nations of Africa, two or three first-class secondary schools which turn out each year a number, even though small, of men and women of Christian character, with keen and equipped minds, can be of incalculable value to the nation. That is why such names as Mfantsipim, Wesley Girls' High School, Aburi, Igbobi, King's College, Lagos, Uzuakoli, Budu, Alliance High School, Kenya, Waddilove, Lovedale, Healdtown, and the rest are more than household words in their own countries. Their pupils, men and women, have taken leading positions in their lands in government, Church, trade, agriculture, industry, administration, and the professions.

The Church in various parts of the world has shared in a number of ventures in higher education that have been founded on a confessedly Christian basis. In Africa, the names of Fourah Bay, Achimota, Makerere, Fort Hare spring to mind. These are now developing into new university colleges, together with the new foundations at Ibadan and Salisbury. Fourah Bay has a Church foundation and a special relationship with Durham. The University College of the Gold Coast has its Faculty of Theology, the University College of Ibadan its Department of Religious Studies, and each has its European and African professors, lecturers, and members of council, who are leaders in the Christian Church. Similar leadership is found in others of the new university colleges in the Commonwealth, as, for instance, in Kingston, Jamaica. One of the crucial tasks of the present day in all these areas is the creation of a Christian basis for the whole philosophy of education in these new universities. It is at least equally important that the same Christian basis shall be found for the new colleges of technology and of agriculture that are being created in Africa and Asia.

Another highly specialized field of education of great importance into which

the Church has entered is that of medicine. At the higher level of the training of doctors, Vellore in India stands alone. Almost all of the hospitals run by the Church in Africa and Asia have done notable work in the training of nurses, who have there received not only a professional training, but also a view of the healing ministry as a service to others. The raising of standards of nursing training demanded by various governments, together with the ever-widening scope of medical work, are making the continuance of this training more difficult because of the requirements of staff and equipment.

In all these spheres of higher and specialist training, can the Church measure up in the right way to the opportunities offered?

EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS

For many years the Church overseas has recognized its responsibility in the sphere of the training of teachers, for here is the key to the provision of Christian education for the rising generation. Until recently the majority of teachers in primary and secondary schools were committed Christians. Today, when more of the schools are under some form of government authority, the Church ought to do all it can to ensure that teachers have Christian character as well as technical competence. Thus it was that Wesley College, Kumasi, at a time, a dozen years ago, when it needed every place it could provide for teachers for the Methodist schools of the Gold Coast, offered a proportion of its places to candidates sent by the native authorities of the country—an offer that was gladly accepted by these authorities. On the other hand, one of the more disquieting features of the Bantu Education Act in South Africa is the fact that the Government has taken all teacher training out of the hands of the Church authorities.

The words of the Report of the Tambaram Conference in 1938 are still true:

Most important of all will be the supply and training of the teachers, for it is upon the teacher that the effectiveness of any educational system must depend. What is needed is not only teachers who have the necessary technical qualifications, but men and women who realize the greatness of the vocation of a Christian teacher and who seek by personal contact with their pupils to lead them into the fullness of the Christian life. The life and witness of the Christian staff and students are a bible which all the non-Christians read.¹

The Church needs to be concerned about this subject everywhere, though its lines of action may vary from country to country.

EDUCATING THE ADULTS

One of the most dramatic activities developed within the Church in the past twenty-five years has been the discovery and use of new methods of teaching illiterate adults to read and write. The best-known apostle of this movement is Dr Frank Laubach, who went to the Philippines as an American Congregational missionary teacher in 1929. He worked out a method by which the adult Moslems in Lanao could learn, in a few hours only, how to read their own language of Maranaw. He used the simple fact that an adult illiterate knows how to speak his own language, and therefore, in learning to read, only has to learn to make the association between sounds already known and symbols

written on paper. He also realized that the technique of teaching an adult to read must be quite different from that used with a child; individual tuition of an adult pupil by an adult teacher is the best method. A personal relationship is created, with endless possibilities for friendship and influence. From these beginnings in Lanao the method has been developed, and has been used, with various modifications, to teach people to read in some 250 different language areas in periods reckoned in days instead of years. What possibilities such methods open up for the peasants of Asia and Africa can hardly be imagined, for the percentage of illiteracy in the populations of these two continents (reckoning persons of ten years of age and over) is between seventy and eighty. Half the people in the world are still unable to read and write.

The Church had engaged in this work from the beginning. Just as, in the nineteenth century, missionaries were often the first people to reduce languages to writing, so now they are in the van of this twentieth-century task of teaching people to read in their own languages. But although the Church has been in this literacy movement throughout the past twenty-five years, it has done much less than it ought. Does it care enough to put adult literacy among its own members as a priority?

The Church has one immense advantage over all other agencies for adult literacy: it can offer to new readers two or three books of supreme value that they desperately want to be able to read. It is a most moving experience to see an African woman of fifty years of age open a Gospel in her own language for the first time, and to watch her as she finds she can read for herself the Lord's Prayer, or the Beatitudes, or the Passion story of her Lord.

But these two or three precious books are not enough. What else are the new literates to read? Can the Church not only match but surpass other agencies in the provision of attractive and relevant books, pamphlets, and newspapers? Can it offer literature that will give people a Christian approach to life today, or must the guidance for life be left to commercial interests and to Communist and secular propagandists? Christian agencies, such as the United Society for Christian Literature and the International Committee for Christian Literature for Africa, need the full and practical support of members of the Churches. Imagination and a sense of urgency are needed when missionary societies press for increased budgets for literature and literacy work. This is front-line educational activity today.

Educating for Church Service

One reason for the Church's entering the education sphere in the pioneer missionary days was that it might train its own members for service in the Church. Various factors—the reduction in the number of missionaries sent out by many European Societies, the desire for responsibility in the Church overseas to be more and more in the hands of nationals, rising costs of all missionary work—have emphasized the need today for a concentration on training work within the Church. This involves the training of ordained ministers, full-time paid lay workers, and the host of voluntary lay workers in the Church. To deal with this subject even in outline would go outside the scope of this article, but it does need to be remembered that the training of the ministry (ordained and

lay) that the Church has done, and is planning to do in a greater measure, is not only an essential activity for its own life, but a most important contribution to the education and development of the countries in which the Church works.

CHURCH AND STATE IN EDUCATION

It is the historical role of the Churches to be the trail-blazers in any ventures that affect the well-being of people, whether in education, health, or the welfare of the young, the old, or the handicapped. The Churches have made the initial experiments, have learnt how to bring success out of failure, have been able to show the way, and have then handed over their achievements to governments, who develop systems from these pioneer efforts. . . . The story of voluntary agencies in colonial territories has not deviated much from this pattern, and African and European alike know and willingly acknowledge how much the territories owe to the efforts of the voluntary agencies in the days before administration developed . . . its activity affecting the welfare of the people. It is equally clear that in future, the voluntary agencies have a changing role to play in society, particularly as it affects education. Here there is a double issue, for on the one hand the missions are giving way to local Churches, and on the other those Churches, because they are young and without large financial resources behind them, are finding that they cannot undertake to the same degree the physical and material responsibilities in the provision of expanding public social services.²

This extract from the report of a Government-sponsored Conference illustrates the kind of relationship that has been developed in many areas of the Commonwealth between the Church and State in education. It acknowledges the pioneer work done by the Church (at much less cost than the Government could have done it!), but shows that the responsibility for education must now more and more be taken over by the State. The Church is now represented more often by the local Church than by the Missionary Society. Several new factors thus enter into the situation, which may cause grave difficulties for the Church in education.

What is to be the Church's action in a country whose government is in the hands of men who do not accept Christianity? This kind of situation varies according to the answers to other questions, of which these are a few: Are those in authority aggressively anti-Christian? Is there a 'freedom of religion' clause in the Constitution? Does such a clause include 'freedom to propagate any religion'? May Christian teaching be given in schools? Must the schools give lessons in whatever religions are represented by the pupils in the school? No general rule can cover all such situations; the Church must decide in each case how it can best preserve the opportunity of making its effective witness. Such decisions will be taken more often by nationals of the country than by missionaries from Europe or America, and it is good that it should be so. This is a widespread and formidable issue for the Church today, for the Church faces *apartheid* in South Africa, Communism in China, a resurgent Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, a Hinduism that is the handmaid of nationalism in India, and Islam that links Pakistan, the Arab states, the hinterland of West Africa, and the new National Assemblies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. How is the Church to make its contribution to those wanting education in these lands today?

WHAT DOES THE CHURCH WANT TO SEE IN EDUCATION?

The Church overseas is being compelled to re-think its ideas on the purpose and practice of education. What does it want to see in the educational system of a country? The following is a summary of thought in one area overseas: (a) The children should be taught the truth about God, man and the world; teachers and children should be seeking the truth together; what is taught should be in accordance with the best thinking of the time; (b) the training of the character of the children should be treated as of first importance; they should be fitted to become responsible citizens of their own land; (c) adequate instruction in the Christian religion should be given in all schools; the corporate life and worship of the schools should be Christian; (d) the teachers should be of satisfactory character and ability; (e) the schools should be open to all without discrimination; (f) the management should be efficient, thorough, and trustworthy.

Reference has already been made to the Church's contribution in management and training; one further direct contribution is in religious instruction. In certain areas it has been possible for the Church to prepare and to bring into wide use agreed syllabuses of religious instruction. Such action, usually taken through the Christian Councils, needs to be fostered, together with means for equipping teachers to give religious instruction.

WHY IS THE CHURCH IN EDUCATION TODAY?

It was often said in the past that a Church could only be built up in a new area if a school was also opened. Experience suggests that this does not necessarily follow—nor should it. What then is the school's contribution to the Church? It would seem that the school may prepare a child, through all its lessons, community life, and religious instruction, for the challenge of personal allegiance to Christ in the fellowship of His people to be presented to him by the Church whose particular responsibility it is to bring him to the point of decision.

The sphere of education is where the Church can offer its message to another culture, the area of contact between two systems of life and thought. One present-day problem is that the Church has come to Africa and Asia from countries (in Europe and America) where there is nowadays no coherent Christian philosophy that can be offered as an integrated view of life.

The gospel of Jesus Christ is given by God for the salvation of the whole human race and of all society, and for the remaking of man, body, mind, and soul. It concerns all knowledge and experience, and must be expressed in action as well as in word. To communicate God's revealed truth and wisdom to the world, and to confront the world with Christ, involve the process of education at every level and for every age. The Church, as God's chosen instrument for proclaiming and living His message in the world, must be concerned with education, since His message affects all life. The educational activity of the Church is not an appendix to its proper task; it is not even 'good works'; it is the dramatic presentation of the gospel. In education the Holy Spirit is active in and through the Church.

'What is most needed for dealing with these problems [of Christian education]

(Concluded on page 287.)

CHRISTIANITY AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

IT IS becoming a commonplace to say that this is an age of expanding scientific and technological progress, but this should not blind us to the fact that it is profoundly true and expresses a fact to be reckoned with.

Not only is this an age when scientific knowledge is accumulating at an unprecedented rate, but it is also one in which this new knowledge is being built into the technology of every industry in order either to produce new goods and services, or to simplify the manufacture of many articles and materials in common use.

So rapid is the development of new technological processes that this present age is being compared with that of a century ago, and many modern writers are talking of a new Industrial Revolution and the dawn of an era of prosperity for mankind. One has only to look at the recent advances in our knowledge of chemical and pharmaceutical products, of plastics and building materials, of atomic reactors and power-stations, of methods of transport, and, above all, our growing skill in the use of electronics and automatic controls, to realize that such prophecies have a substantial foundation and that there could emerge from the present turbulent era a completely new social structure.

These momentous happenings in the scientific technological fields affect the content of the education of the young at every stage of their school life, but our present concern is with the education of the older students, and particularly those who, only newly recruited into industry, are attending courses of study in technical colleges. These students are the craftsmen, the technicians and technologists of the future, and the outstanding successes of science and applied science are reflected not only in the content of the syllabuses they follow, but also in their mental outlook upon the world.

This outlook shows itself in an uncritical acceptance of the belief that science and applied science hold the key to the door through which will come all man's future happiness and prosperity, and in a complete conviction that if the scientist is allowed freedom to range over every field of mental activity, then he can and will provide his brother, the applied scientist and the technologist, with new knowledge out of which they can supply mankind with everything necessary in the way of food, clothing, shelter, health and recreation for a happy life on earth.

In discussing this attitude of mind with students and with many of their teachers, those of us who question the rosy nature of this belief are met with the argument of past achievement. We are told of the results of the application of scientific research over the past fifty years, of the discovery and development of new drugs and chemicals which have wiped out many diseases which were killers within the memory of even young people, and of those other chemical discoveries which have revolutionized the food and agricultural programmes of many nations; of the many new technical and electrical devices which have eased the burden of the manual worker and have caused the establishment of the new social services which have recast modern society; of the inventions of new plastics and textiles which have revolutionized fashion, society and even our very homes; of the startling advent of the jet engine, the radio, and television,

which link nations more closely together than ever before; and, finally, of the newest brain-child of the technologist—the atomic power-station, with all its promise of cheap power exactly where and when it is wanted. These, say students and teachers, are the first foundations of the new era, and the expanding social services which have developed as a direct result are the scaffolding poles of the future temple of universal happiness and prosperity. Along such roads of the application of scientific research and technology to human affairs we shall travel, so they assert, to the Millennium.

Now we who are Christians just do not believe that this picture as painted by our science and technical students is the whole truth and nothing but the truth. It is, however, no use at all for those of us who are responsible for their training just to say so. The problem raised by such blind assertions is an acute one and, to my way of thinking, its solution is one of the most urgent tasks in education today. In some convincing way we have to bring home to these young students the vital necessity of accepting the Christian approach to science and technology, and to present to them, with absolute personal conviction, the truth that man is not simply a reasoning, tool-using animal, and that he cannot, by reason and craftsmanship alone, become a good person.

Somehow we must urge upon them, as the profoundest of all truths, that unless scientists and technologists recognize and develop the spiritual side of their personalities by exercising the discipline of the Christian faith and by feeding upon the spiritual food of the Gospel of Christ, then scientific knowledge and amazing technological achievements—which include the dread knowledge of how to make and explode atomic and hydrogen bombs, and wage gas—and bacteriological warfare—may well be used, by those whose motives are vilely selfish, to enslave and torture not only the bodies but also the minds and souls of their fellow men, and to lead humanity, not to that temple of happiness and prosperity, not to that bright Millennium, but to the kind of life so grimly portrayed by George Orwell in *Nineteen-Eighty-Four*, to the kind of existence which men still living have experienced in the concentration camps of totalitarian governments. Our memories of the ways in which we have seen science prostituted to serve inhuman ends should stab our minds awake to the realization of what we must do to prevent these young technical students from going into life and industry equipped only with well-trained hands and brains, knowing nothing of the grace and humility of Christ and His gospel, and unaware of the power of that gospel to sweeten and purify all knowledge and to provide a touchstone upon which to test the real value of all scientific knowledge and every technological device.

To state a problem is one thing; to provide a satisfactory solution is another. This problem of the 'Godless scientist' is an ever-green topic of discussion, and among the many proposals offered towards its solution has been that favoured by some members of the Christian Church: namely, that a halt should be called to the prosecution of any further scientific research for a period of ten years, so that mankind can have a breathing-space to absorb into its culture the wealth of existing knowledge. Now apart from the obvious fact that world-wide co-operation in such a plan would be well-nigh impossible, the scheme is impracticable nonsense because it refuses to recognize the uniqueness of man's mental activities, and the restless urge within him (which many of us believe

to be of truly divine origin) to use them unceasingly to unravel the mysterious secrets of Nature.

Another attempt to solve this problem has been made along a different line. Over the past few years, many of those concerned with technical education have increasingly advocated the introduction of more teaching of the humanities into the curriculum. Some advocate the introduction of periods for the study of selected parts of English literature; others prefer to offer philosophy, economic and industrial history, or the history and philosophy of science, including the historical development of craftsmanship.

Now there is something to be said for a reform of technical college curricula along these lines, for it must be admitted that many teachers of technical students have adhered too long and too slavishly to the purely instructional teaching of a craft or technology, and have seen the end of the process only as the gaining by their students of a professional qualification or a degree. The teacher, frequently untrained in the art of teaching, and himself a product of the same process, follows the narrow syllabus, and feels that his duty is done and his salary has been earned if a reasonable percentage of his students pass the final examination. In fairness, let it be admitted that these teachers are conscientious, hardworking and devoted members of the college staffs, keenly alive to the fact that students should be taught their craft, technology, or trade well; and let it be added that industry and technical education can ill afford to be without such instructors. But having said that, it must be admitted that the majority of their students are no more than well-trained craftsmen. Unless a student is fortunate in his home life, his out-of-college activities, his friends or his teachers, in the vast majority of cases he is not guided to view his craft or technology in its historical setting, much less in its relationship to the wider sphere of the community; there is nothing in the curriculum to enlarge his vision and to enable him to see that the skill he has acquired should be used wisely and well.

But although efforts to deepen technical college syllabuses must always be welcomed, no changes of this kind will turn students into good men. Such schemes, if they are carried out well, may stimulate a few of them to pursue the historical aspects of their craft or technology further in their leisure time, and occasionally one or two may even be fired with enthusiasm for W.E.A. continuation classes in philosophy and economics; but even these good results will only occur when there is a teacher sufficiently cultured, sufficiently dedicated to the business of teaching, and sufficiently skilled in the exercise of his craft or technology to win the allegiance of his students, to capture their affections, and to draw them to deeper knowledge by the attractive quality of his own personality.

Here, I believe, we have found the clue to the solution of our problem. We must direct our attention to the intimate relationship which exists in technical college teaching, as indeed in all forms of education, between the student and the teacher. It is here, in the interplay of personalities, that lasting impressions are made. We have only to review our own experience to see just how powerful for good or evil this influence may be, and to realize how much our personalities have been moulded by those who taught us in our impressionable years. We know that we exist as our teachers' products, made or marred by those whose

standards of conduct and principles of life we remember when the contents of their lessons have long since vanished.

It is my considered opinion that the solution of our problem rests upon the quality of the personalities of the teachers, upon the characters of those whom the young craftsmen and technologists meet most often and most intimately in the give and take of the classroom, the workshop, and the laboratory. In saying this, I would not belittle in any way the responsibility of the principal of the college, for upon his personality and outlook will depend the climate of opinion which pervades all college activities. His attitude to work, the standards he accepts, his conceptions of justice and tolerance, his efficiency in daily routine, his respect for human personality as shown in his dealings with staff and students, all influence profoundly the standard of work and conduct of the college, and affect in great measure the type of student it turns out. But it is upon the quality of the class-teachers that I wish to concentrate; for I believe wholeheartedly that if these men could be fired with enthusiasm for the Christian way of life, and all that means in the dedication of their personal gifts of craftsmanship to God and to the service of their fellow men, then the students could not help but be deeply influenced towards that state of mind in which they see their developing skill and craftsmanship as God-given gifts, to be used in His service and for the benefit of their fellow men.

The problem thus resolves itself into how this sense of Christian dedication can be developed increasingly in the hearts of those who teach in technical colleges. I believe the first necessity is for the Church as a whole to wake up to the fact that an acute problem exists and that its solution is a matter of urgency. Having been so awakened, the Church should then begin its work at the obvious starting-point—with the Christian teachers already at work in the colleges. These happy few have been carrying the torch of Christian witness in their work for too long without any encouragement, and I would suggest that the Church should gather them together, with a number of its leaders, for a week-end course, or if necessary for a number of such courses, and there, in frank and open discussion, should examine this whole problem of Christian witness in technical colleges.

At these meetings, the Church leaders should be at pains to consolidate and enlarge the spiritual resources of these men from the colleges and recharge them with fresh energy, so that they return invigorated to form cells of Christian witness from which can radiate the teaching of the Christian gospel as it affects man's attitude to work. In return, the Church leaders would learn about a vast new field of Christian Service whose cultivation could revolutionize human relationships in the industrial life of this nation; and they would find, too, a wholehearted response to a courageous and clear call from many good-living, conscientious members of technical college staffs who are not actively committed to the Christian faith.

After a few such meetings, I am convinced that week-end discussion courses would become a permanent feature of Church life, and from them would spring the new schemes for future policy. These should include much discussion of all that is meant by the training of technical college teachers, and of how the Christian point of view of industrial relationships could be introduced into the training programme. I believe it would be seen that in the framework of the

words of Christ to the young enquirer, 'Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all Thy heart and soul and mind and strength and Thy neighbour as thyself', lies the clue to the task of every craftsman and technologist, whether teacher or taught; for it is by the skill of his hands, the activity of his mind, and the purity of his motives that he can love God and his neighbour.

In preparing its schemes, the Church should consider the use which can be made of local ministers of the various religious denominations in technical college work. It must at once be said that the introduction of ministers of religion as such into technical college work is well-nigh impossible. There are almost insuperable problems connected with the changing day-to-day population of the college—for example, the fact that the work involves different denominations, and the nature of the day-release agreement with local industry, to mention but two. But I believe most firmly that the pastoral experience of local ministers could be a very valuable asset in technical college work if they could be persuaded to take part-time work as teachers of subjects in which they are academically qualified. My own experience in this respect has been most happy, for on occasion I have been able to use the services of practising ministers of religion of different denominations as part-time teachers, and I have always found that they bring to their work a deep concern not only that they should teach their chosen subject well, but also that they should get to know their students as persons. I know that some of their most rewarding and fruitful pastoral work has been done amongst the young craftsmen and technologists whom they have had in their classes. I know, too, that their influence for good has reached out far beyond the confines of their classrooms and laboratories, and that many of the problems faced by adolescent youths and girls have been solved by the judicious way of looking at both problem and person which is characteristic of the ministry at its best.

It is that outlook, which I have seen guiding and inspiring the teaching of these men and practising Christian laymen, and which is founded upon the Christian Gospel of the active love of God and the active concern for one's neighbour, which I firmly believe must more and more permeate all work in our technical colleges, if these young craftsmen and technologists are to be drawn away from the glittering but dangerous philosophies of materialism and scientific humanism. In this task of bringing about such a re-conversion of student thought and allegiance the Church must take the first step. It must show that it is fully behind those Christian teachers already in the colleges and others of their colleagues who are awaiting a lead, and then, in partnership, it will be able to tackle this problem of the 'Godless scientist' at the point where I believe success can be achieved.

A. E. WALES

A TERCENTENARY OF TOLERATION

FOR THE beginning of the story of Jewish life in this country we must needs go back to Domesday. There it is recorded that 'the son of Manasses has one *mansiō* rendering fourpence to Bletchingdon'. It is also recorded that he was fined for holding land without the King's permission. This conjunction of fine and name support the view now generally held that this *fil Manasse* was a Jew, since Jews were forbidden to own real estate, not merely in England, but throughout medieval Europe.

They were, in fact, the property of the sovereign, and at a time when the Church forbade the practice of usury by Christians, were readily exploitable as moneylenders and tax-gatherers. Tax-gatherers are never popular; money-lenders even less so. When, moreover, to economic grounds for unpopularity was added the *odium theologicum*, which found expression, for example, in allegations of ritual murder such as that associated with the story of little St Hugh of Lincoln, all the ingredients were present for such a tragedy as took place in York, where, in 1190, some hundreds of Jews lost their lives in Clifford's Tower, in which they had taken refuge from a hostile mob.

In the next 100 years the situation grew worse, until, in 1290, Edward I decided to rid himself of a problem he had failed to solve and ordered the expulsion of Jews from the country. Thenceforward for 365 years—a year of years—this 'corner of the earth', as the Jews of medieval times punningly translated the name Angleterre, knew no established Jewish community.

This does not mean that there were no Jews at all in England. We know, for example, that a *domus conversorum*, established by Henry III in 1232 on the present site of the Public Record Office, in Chancery Lane, was used to house a number of baptized Jews who had remained after the Expulsion. Later Dr. Rodrigo Lopes achieved distinction as physician to Queen Elizabeth I, though his fame was shortlived, for he incurred the displeasures of the Earl of Essex, who secured his execution at Tyburn in 1594 on a charge of attempting to poison the Queen. It is thought, incidentally, that excitement over this incident was reflected in Shakespeare's handling of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*.

Most of the Jews who found their way into England at this period were, like Rodrigo Lopes, of Spanish or Portuguese descent. Though outwardly Christian, they continued, as their fathers had done under the stress of persecution in Spain and Portugal, to practise their Judaism in secret. Their loyalty to their own was a reproach to the intolerance of a Christian tradition.

But the dawning of a brighter day was at hand. In 1610 a Jewish community was officially established in the Netherlands. Thirty years later the first steps were taken that led to the ending of the 'year of years' and the re-establishment of a Jewish community in England. This first move, interestingly (and perhaps significantly) enough, was taken by two English Dissenters: a widow, Johanna Cartwright, and her son Ebenezer who were living at the time in Amsterdam. On 5th January 1648 these two presented a petition to Lord Fairfax and the General Council of War 'for the Repealing of the Act of Parliament for their (i.e. the Jews') banishment out of England'.

The petition was favourably received, with a promise from Lord Fairfax

'to take it into speedy consideration when the present more publike affaires are dispatched'. But since these 'more publike affaires' included the events which led a year later to the overthrow of the Monarchy, the execution of the King, and the setting up of the Commonwealth, it is hardly surprising that the matter was allowed to lie on the table! Happily, however, the text of the petition was printed and published in 1649. It is a lively document which merits attention still.

Addressed to 'The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax (His Excellency) Englanes Generall and the Honourable Councell of Warre', the Petition

humbly sheweth that your Petitioners being conversant in that City (Amsterdam), with and amongst some of Israell race, called Jewes, and growing sensible of their heavy out-cryes and clamours against the intolerable cruelty of our English nation, exercised against them by that (and other) inhumane exceeding great Massacre of them, in the Raign of RICHARD the second, King of this Land, and their banishment ever since, with the penalty of death to be inflicted upon any of their return into this Land, that by discourse with them, and serious perusal of the Prophets, both they and we find, that the time of hereall draweth nigh: whereby they together with us, shall come to know the Emanuell, the Lord of life, light and glory; even as we are now known of him, And that this Nation of ENGLAND, with the Inhabitants of the Nether-lands, shall be the first and readiest to transport IZRAELIS Sons & Daughters in their Shipe to the Land promised to their fore-Fathers, ABRAHAM, ISAAC, and JACOB, for an everlasting Inheritance.

For the glorious manifestation whereof, and pyous meanes thereunto, your Petitioners humbly pray that the inhumane cruel Statute of banishment made against them, may be repealed, and they under the Christian banner of charity, and brotherly love, may again be received and permitted to trade and dwell amongst you in this Land, as now they do in the Nether-lands.

Of particular interest is the reference to 'the serious perusal of the prophets' and the conclusion that 'the time of hereall draweth nigh'; for the middle of the seventeenth century was a period of lively Messianic expectation in some Christian as well as Jewish circles. It was, indeed, the age of Sabbatai Zevi, perhaps the most outstanding of the 'false Messiahs'.

His proclamation that he was to set up his Kingdom in the Holy Land in 1666 (a very significant combination of figures!) secured for him a considerable Christian as well as Jewish following. Among his many well-wishers were the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam. But alas, the address of congratulations which they had prepared was never delivered, for on his way to the Holy Land Sabbatai Zevi was captured by the Turks and cast into prison. There he became a convert to Islam. In this he was followed by some of his disciples, and so there emerged in Jewry an heretical sect of which it is said that traces still survive in Turkey. The address of congratulation from the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in Amsterdam was preserved meanwhile in the archives of the synagogue, where it may still be seen by the interested visitor.

It was from this same synagogue that, ten years earlier, Menasseh ben Israel set out on his historic mission to plead with Oliver Cromwell 'in behalf of the Jewish nation'. Menasseh himself was something of a mystic. His plea was based, in part at least, on the consideration that the Messianic age would

only begin when Jews were scattered throughout the world (he too was a 'peruser of the prophets') and that so long as there was no Jewish community in England the dispersion could not be said to be complete.

But he was also a man of affairs, and though his mission was inspired by his Messianism, his plea was very practical in its terms. Basically, it was a plea for religious toleration. It asked for the 'free exercise of our Religion, that we may have our Synagogues and keep our own publick worship, as our brethren doe in Italy, Germany, Poland and many other places.' It also requested that all anti-Jewish laws should be repealed, that the principal public officers should take an oath to defend them, that they should have unrestricted rights to trade, that they should be allowed internal jurisdiction subject to appeal to civil judges, and that synagogues and cemeteries should be permitted throughout the British dominions.

The petition was sympathetically received by the Lord Protector, to whom both its mystical and its more practical aspects made a strong appeal. There are good grounds for believing that he was attracted by the possibilities of commercial advantage which might accrue from the readmission of Jews to the country. Accordingly, on 12th November of the same year, Cromwell presented the petition to a Council of State. Here, however, its reception was nothing like so friendly, and it was agreed that the matter be referred to a special conference.

In the meantime, news of the petition had been noised abroad and wild anti-Jewish rumours quickly gained currency. Thus it was alleged that an offer of £500,000 had been made for St Paul's Cathedral (this, of course, was before the Fire of London!), which was to be converted into a synagogue. The negotiations were said to have broken down only because the Government had insisted that the purchase price be increased to £800,000. Another rumour had it that a messenger who had been sent to Cambridge to purchase the University Library had called at Cromwell's birthplace at Huntingdon to check his lineage and to make sure that he was in fact the Messiah.

A public opinion fed on rumours such as these was hardly calculated to provide a sympathetic background for the Whitehall Conference, which was convened in December. This was representative of the political, legal, theological, and business life of the country, but its discussions appear to have been dominated by the merchants and the theologians, who were for the most part strongly opposed to granting Menasseh's plea. The theologians argued that the public exercise of the Jewish religion in a Christian country would be tantamount to blasphemy, and the merchants that the commercial interests of the nation would be seriously prejudiced. Even those who were reluctant to take up a completely negative attitude urged that the status of Jews should be subject to all kinds of restrictions. Thus, for example, Jews should not be admitted to any judicial function, nor be allowed to hold public office. Moreover (and the nature of these proposals is in itself a sufficient commentary on the bigotry which inspired them), they must not be allowed to speak or act to the dishonour of Christianity, to profane the Christian Sabbath, to employ Christian servants, to attempt the conversion of Christians to Judaism, or to resist attempts made to convert Jews to Christianity.

Finally, on 18th December, after five inconclusive sessions, Cromwell

dissolved the Conference. Whether he again consulted the Council, which asked for its appointment and which was thus left without any clear guidance, is uncertain. It is in any event unlikely that had he done so they would have been prepared, in face of so unfriendly a public reaction, to support the proposal. All that we know for certain is that no answer was forthcoming. And so the matter might have remained but for what at first seemed an entirely irrelevant consideration.

In the autumn of 1655 Cromwell had joined forces with Sweden and France against Spain. Accordingly, early in March 1656, all Spanish property, merchandise, and shipping in England or in English waters was declared by Order in Council to be lawful prize. Among those directly affected by this order were certain Jewish merchants of Spanish descent who were already unofficially resident in this country. One of them, Rodrigo Robles by name, was denounced by a rival to the authorities, who at once issued orders for the seizure of his goods.

It was at once recognized by the other members of this crypto-Jewish community that the interests of all were at stake. An immediate consultation took place and it was decided to make a further approach to Cromwell. This was done on 24th March in a letter jointly signed by six of the leading members of the group and by Menasseh ben Israel. The letter asked for written permission for Jews to live and worship without molestation and to have a cemetery of their own. Again no immediate answer was forthcoming, nor so far as we know was any written answer ever given. It seems clear, however, that in due course the writers were given to understand that all would be well.

And so it came about that from 1656 onwards the right of the Jews to live, worship and work in this country was recognized. There was still a long way to go, however, before they were granted full political and religious emancipation. It was not until 1858, for example, that the first Jewish Member of Parliament was able, as a Jew, to take his seat in the House of Commons. This was the Baron Lionel de Rothschild whom the electors of the City of London had in fact, returned as their Member eleven years before, in 1847. His inability to take his seat at that time had been due to his refusal on grounds of conscience to take the oath of allegiance in its Christological form. That it should have taken eleven years to find a formula to meet the situation is a reflection on the human rather than the purely legal aspects of the problem of toleration. Benjamin Disraeli, of course, had already been a Member for some years when the Baron took his seat, but in his case the problem had not arisen, since he had been brought up from his boyhood as a Christian and was able to take the oath in its original form.

This, then, is something of the background of the tercentenary of the re-establishment of a Jewish community in this country, which is being celebrated this year. That Jews themselves have benefited in many ways, not only in this country, but in other parts of the world, and especially perhaps in the countries of the British Commonwealth, they themselves have been quick to acknowledge. But the benefits have been by no means one-sided.

Speaking a few months ago at a Banquet held at Guildhall in London in celebration of this tercentenary, H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh paid tribute to the Jewish community's record in this country. 'It is', he said—

truly remarkable. Every part of our national life has been enriched by their contribution over the years. As statesmen and politicians, in the arts and sciences, in the professions, in business and in commerce, and, of course, in the wide world of entertainment, members of the Jewish community have achieved great things which have left or made a lasting impression. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the community as a whole throughout its three hundred years here has been its success at fitting itself into the life of its adopted country and yet at the same time retaining a strong sense of common interest and a reverence for all the best traditions of Jewish faith and culture.

It is hardly necessary at this stage to labour the moral of this story, but since the Duke went on to make the point that 'tolerance is not a natural inclination for anybody anywhere, that, in fact, intolerance is never very far below the surface, particularly amongst thoughtless people', and that 'we have too many recent reminders of what happens when tolerance breaks down to imagine that there is no further cause to worry', it is at least important that we do not lose sight of it.

This is indeed the heart of the matter. For the whole story of the association of Jews with this country focuses attention on the issue of toleration, and particularly of religious toleration. And toleration, as the Archbishop of Canterbury reminded Jews and Christians alike in his tercentenary message—

is not an easy acquiescing virtue: where it exists it is a hard won triumph of the Holy Spirit of God, by which the very things which divide men from one another, culture, economic power, race and creed, are held in a creative tension of divine compassion out of which comes not hatred but mutual respect, not persecution but godly trust in one another, not fear of conquest but co-operation in the enrichment of life by the humble use of all that each has to contribute.

But the celebration of this so important anniversary in the fight for toleration will have failed in its purpose if it serves only to send us back into the past. For the battle is still being waged in many parts of the world, and there is no way in which Jews and Christians can better repay their mutual indebtedness to the pioneers of their present freedom than in working together in the spirit so admirably described by the Archbishop for the combating of intolerance in all its forms wherever it occurs.

W. W. SIMPSON

JOHN FLETCHER'S INCUMBENCY AT MADELEY

SOME NOTES ON THE CHURCH, VICARAGE, LIVING, AND PARISH RECORDS

THE PRESENT Madeley Church dates only from 1797, though a church has stood on the site from 1267 at least. It is an exceedingly curious parish church of the Methodist Octagon type. It lies a little further eastward than the old church, enclosing some of the Vicar's glebe. An interesting thing about this building is that it was not formally consecrated, owing to the Bishop of Hereford's infirmity. He composed a special prayer to be used at the opening. It is associated with Fletcher only through Mrs Fletcher, and because it houses some Fletcher relics and incorporates a few items from the old church. In the clergy vestry are his bureau, with an inlaid monogram, and several autograph letters. At the west end of the church is a show-case containing sermon notes, a Communion cloth, his sword and water-bottle, and numerous other things. There is also a basin of delicate china (possibly Caughley), having a dove painted inside. It may have been used for baptisms in Mrs Fletcher's barn-chapel whilst the Octagon was being built.

It is recorded in the Domesday Survey that the Abbey church of St Milburg, Wenlock, 'holds Madeley, and held it in the time of King Edward'. It is regrettable that very little is known of the old church, and that hardly a stone has been preserved. An old gazetteer of Shropshire states that this church 'exhibited the Norman style of architecture; a chantry was erected in the ancient structure and dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the 11th (year) of Richard II'.

The sketches and various lithographs which have popularized the church and vicarage vary considerably. The print sold to aid the fund for providing almshouses in memory of Fletcher suggests a cruciform plan, with nave and chancel of about equal length, transepts, and an imposing tower at the junction. A porch is shown on the north wall of the nave at the west end. Other lithographs, e.g. that by W. Gauchi, indicate a nave with a double roof, and show the tower as being the width of one section only. The window arches appear Norman in style, but their length is akin to that of the Perpendicular period. It appears from some vestry meeting minutes that what looks like a transept was in fact a vestry.

Towards the close of Fletcher's ministry the tower was pronounced unsafe. As a matter of fact, the whole building was dilapidated, and by 1788 the Vestry had reached the point of demanding a new church. The tower, sometimes referred to as the steeple, was taken down some time before the church was abandoned—in the winter of 1788-9, in fact. In order to facilitate this, the vestry above-mentioned was removed first. The cost of this demolition was £2 9s. The old lead was sold for 16s. per hundredweight.

The tower contained six bells, the oldest of which dated from 1552. Three of these were recast in 1726, and the sixth was cast a year later by a Birmingham bell-founder. If a proverb recorded by Howel in 1659 is correct, Madeley bells were notable: 'Weobley ale, Medley Bells, Lemster ore—three things in

Herefordshire which are the best of that kind'. (Madeley, of course, is in Hereford only so far as the Diocese is concerned.)

Fletcher's church contained tombs, with full-length mailed figures and mural monuments, of members of the Brooke family. Four of these, i.e. John, son of Robert (supporter of Queen Mary and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), John's wife, his son, and his son's wife, were placed in niches high up on the walls outside the new church, where they have remained, gradually crumbling, ever since. The only stone features from the old church which had a place in the new one were several commemorative tablets.

There is no doubt that some of the treasures of the old church found their way into private hands. The *Antiquarian* for 1886 referred to the old font which some person had that year presented to the President of the Wesleyan Conference for the Museum of Methodist Antiquities. A writer in *Shropshire Notes and Queries* the same year urged that the font should be returned to the parish.

The pulpit from Fletcher's church found its way eventually into the new church, and was used for a time as a lectern. It is now a relic exhibited at the west end of the Octagon. A piece of the sanctuary furniture apparently went straight into the new church from the old—namely, the stout oak table, carved, and having its top front rail the letters I.C.F.W. It is used now as a credence table, but is spoken of as 'Fletcher's Communion Table'. The F.W. might stand for 'Francis Wolfe'. Is it possible that I.C. stands for 'Imperius Carolus', and commemorates King Charles's association with Madeley? Two high-backed oak benches which stand in the vestibule of the present church are thought to have come out of Fletcher's church.

The Communion plate which Fletcher handled remained in use until 1825, when Mr Reynolds gave the church a new set. The old plate was sent away to be melted down into a second paten, which was inscribed to that effect. In the inscription the word 'paten' is spelt 'pattern', and it is thus spelt in the old minutes. The members of the Vestry and Reynolds himself, who knew a good deal more about engineering practice than ecclesiastical terminology, have thus perpetuated a trade term upon the church's silver.

In the lower or eastern end of the churchyard in Fletcher's day there was a school building. It stood till 1814, and was then rebuilt, chiefly to meet the growing Sunday-school work. Fletcher taught in this school every day. Nothing is known about the curriculum, and very little about the building itself. In the vestry of the present church is a small, rare print of it, from which it appears to have been a quaint, half-timbered structure surrounded by tombstones.

The old prints of Fletcher's church all show two very clearly distinguished paths across the rough land around the west end of the building; these paths converged upon the porch of the nave. Because of the superstition that it was unlucky for a bridal party and a funeral party to meet in the churchyard, they used to approach the church along different paths. The path shown on the left of the prints was used for the burial of the dead; the other was kept for marriages. The custom is rigidly observed even today.

Another old custom associated with the church is that known as 'The Clipping'. The children of the parish surrounded the building, with their backs to it, and joined hands all round whilst they sang their favourite hymns. The

occasion was the day of the patron saint, St Michael. The custom dropped out of use before the middle of the last century in several Shropshire parishes. It has survived somewhat fitfully at Madeley, and is now held in association with the Sunday-school Festival.

The churchyard itself reflects the iron industry of the parish in the large number of iron memorials to be found there. A few yards from the main doors of the church, beside the path from the lych-gate, may be seen the flat, cast-iron name-plate marking the grave of one of the Cranage family. Twenty yards from the most easterly angle of the church may be seen the cast-iron headstone marking the grave of George Michael, architect and builder, who for more than fifty years was an esteemed Methodist preacher and class leader, and who came to Coalbrookdale from Cornwall. Similar and older iron memorials, urns, railings and ornaments may be seen here and there. Fletcher's flat tombstone is itself of cast iron.

Madeley Vicarage, a few yards north of the church, looks very much the same now as when Fletcher lived in it. The year 1672 has been given as the date when it was built, but if—as has been asserted—it was built by Jeremiah Taylor, it must be dated a little later.

Its ground-plan is almost a square on a frontage of 37 feet. It is dead true to the points of the compass. The ground falls away on the north side so that the cellars there have windows not much below ground-level. These cellars, one of which was the kitchen until the beginning of this century, have walls of massive chiselled sandstone blocks. The ceilings are of brick, vaulted. The house has three stories above ground-level and is built of warm red bricks, with walls 20 inches thick. All except two of the front windows are blocked up, and painted black with white lines to represent frames. So are some others. The light and window taxes have caused some which were originally glazed to be converted into 'Pitt's Pictures', as they were called.

The most striking feature of the interior is the moderate size—even smallness—of the twelve rooms. For instance, the study—a badly-placed room by modern standards—on the north side of the house, is only 9 feet by 12 feet 3 inches. The bedroom in which Fletcher died measures 14 feet 6 inches by 12 feet 3 inches. The withdrawing room is only a few inches larger.

The study had a window on the west side, i.e. on the front of the house, and another on the north side. The former, which had been blocked up since the days of the window tax, was uncovered some years ago. On one of the small original panes, at eye-level, was discovered the following couplet cut by a neat hand very like Wesley's:

*The wise for health on exercise depend
God never made his work for man to mend.*

It read so from the inside of the room. It is held that Wesley inscribed these words, i.e. presumably he arranged for someone to copy his handwriting, as a constant reminder to Fletcher to look after his health. Everyone knows Wesley's insistence that the best thing for the inside of a man is the outside of a horse. The couplet, as it stands, is, like much of Wesley's quotation, inaccurate. It comes from Dryden's 'Epistle to John Dryden', and relates to the chase. He says:

*'Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than see the doctor for a nauseous draught;
The wise for cure on exercise depend;
God never made His work for man to mend.'*

There is nothing noticeable about any other room, except by association with Fletcher.

The Vicarage grounds have changed by reduction into lawns. Fletcher's stable and his tithe barn, which Mrs Fletcher used in a way which demonstrated that truth was more important than tithes, have disappeared. His horse-block and a stone trough remain. A good print of the barn is given in *W. H. S. Proceedings*, Vol. XVII, p. 77. The main gate posts, each surmounted by a big stone ball, remain. The corners of the stone sections, worn away by the knife-sharpening of worshippers who ate their lunch around the church, remain as they were, except for the paint.

Glimpses of life in the Vicarage in Fletcher's bachelor days are given in an almost unknown little manuscript in his writing, called *Rules for the Servant*, which Lady C. Milnes Gaskell had seen in one of the county houses of Shropshire.

We gather from this that his housekeeper was referred to as Mrs Sally. We learn further that a sitting-room and a bedroom were kept for the use of the preachers. The former was done out every Thursday morning, the latter also, once a week, and the maid kept the bed aired by sleeping in it twice a week.

Fletcher refers to the parlour as a little-used room, but he desires it shall be kept very clean—a little time each morning should suffice. A chimney-seat was a conspicuous feature of this room.

The maid was to rise just before six in winter, and at five in summer. The study fire was to be lit first thing, then she was to 'run the irons and mind not to dust the carpet, then clean the candlesticks very bright'. Family prayers were at eight. Breakfast followed immediately.

The instructions state that the maid must rub her feet before going into the parlour or upstairs; she must take care to 'leave no Shovels, Mops, Brooms or Brushes out all night' . . . 'if iron it rusts them and always exposes them to be stolen'; to 'leave no linen in the Garden at night, it invites Thieves'; to 'waste nothing, no Soap, Candles, no dripping or bread'; to keep water in the boiler; to 'have always a neat little fire in the kitchen', and so on.

The time-table includes periods for prayer, the feeding of the creatures, needlework, and household cleaning, all delightfully set together. The maid is urged to be obliging, and is reminded that all she does for God's people is done for the Lord Himself.

Concerning Saturday evening and Sunday, the rules read: 'On Saturday evening let the Bread be cut, and the Cups all set ready with the spoons for next day, that we may have no worry on the Sunday, nor any more to be done than is quite needful. Let it all be done by six on Saturday that we may all have stillness in the House, and calmly wait for the Sabbath.' The final paragraph reads: 'If anything oppresses and troubles you, tell me your mind freely, as it is my desire that all under my roof should be very Holy and Comfortable.'

The church registers and other documents which Fletcher handled have a fascination for anyone interested in this parish. The baptismal register, after the last entry for 1760, has this note: 'John Fletcher, Clerk, was inducted to the Vicarage of Madeley the 17th of October in the year 1760.' Following the baptismal entry of 29th July 1785 is the following memorandum:

John Fletcher Clerk died on Sunday Evening August 14th, 1785. He was one of the most Apostolic Men of the age in which he lived. His abilities were extraordinary and his labour unparalleled. He was a burning and a shining light. And as his life had been a common Blessing to the Inhabitants of this Parish, so the death of this great man was lamented by them as a common and irreparable loss. This little testimony was inserted by one who sincerely loved and honoured him, Joshua Gilpin, Vicar of Wrockardine.

On his first Sunday as vicar, Fletcher baptized a boy and a girl—'William son of James Evans and Elizth. his wife', and 'Ursula, daughter of James Junkes and Martha his wife'. He had a funeral on that same Sunday also—'John, son of John and Jane Morgan'. Fletcher recorded no ages in the burial register. His descriptions of the deceased included the following: 'a widow', 'an infant', 'a cobbler', 'Gentn.', 'a boy', 'an owner', 'a furnaceman', 'a carpenter', 'a woman', 'a poor man'. The entry of his own burial reads: '1785, Aug. 17. John Fletcher Vicar of this Parish.' The entry of Mrs Fletcher's burial reads: 'No. 275. Mary Fletcher, Vicarage, Madeley. Dec. 16. John Eytom, 1815.'

His first marriage was that of 'John Abberley (b) Smelter, and Elizabeth Degg (s), Twenty-seventh December, 1760'. Concerning the registers generally, it is observable that sometimes the entries are made by another hand, the clerk's presumably. In some years, most noticeably in 1770, Fletcher himself made the entries.

In the marriage register which covers the period May 1765 to December 1787 there is an interleaved statement thus:

An Account of a blemish in the 107 page of the Register. I, Nathaniel Gilbert, officiating Minister, being yet a novice in registering Marriages having made a blunder in Registering the Marriage of Robert Yates etc., and not considering the consequences of defacing a Register thought I might hide my blunder by cutting and tearing the bottom of page 107, as no marriage was registered on the back of that page. I am now sorry for my rashness which I acknowledge by this Memorandum, lest anybody should be suspected of having fraudulently mangled the register. Witness my hand this 9th Day of November 1783. After proper enquiry we set our hands to the truth of the above memorandum. Sd. John Fletcher, Vicar. John Hatton, Clerk. John Edwards, Deputy Clerk, in whose presence the page was torn in the Chancel. Signed, Nathaniel Gilbert.

This would be the third Nathaniel Gilbert, grandson of the wealthy settler in Antigua. He lived for a time in Madeley, and would be twenty-two years old then, and probably just made priest.

This register is characterized by the numerous marginal notes of Melville Horne, occasioned by his proneness to error in the matter of marriage licences. The first of these notes runs: 'N.B. Whereas Mr. Horne being ignorant of the nature of the licences, has termed them special instead of common.' On another

occasion he wrote: 'N.B. Special Licence is again my old mistake, M. Horne.' At the end of the register he confesses: 'It is desired that all who shall read this Register will observe that the mistake of substituting Special Licence for Licence which constantly occurs since this book came into my hands originated in my inattention and ignorance, Melville Horne.'

The names of Mary Fletcher, Sarah Lawrence [*sic*] and Mary Tooth occur sometimes as witnesses to marriages. In one place the name of Rosamund Tooth is so recorded. Occasionally there are other names which stir memories, e.g. Thomas Maxwell. A preacher's book would have been a treasury of such names, but it is not known whether such a book was kept.

Whilst dealing with Fletcher's records, something may be said about the living of Madeley. Most biographies merely refer to the lowness of the income, quoting the figure of £100 p.a. which is traced to Mrs Fletcher. The tithe account book, which was handed over by De Chambre, Fletcher's predecessor, shows that in 1755, glebe rents, herbage, composition for tithes in kind, and receipts for profits that are sold, totalled £99 19s. 9d. But the next year the figure had fallen to £79 16s. 11d. Two years later it jumped up to £120 14s. 7d. Surplus fees were additional. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, weddings, for example, averaged five per year, after banns, at 3s. 6d. each, and one by licence yielding 5s. Madeley grew steadily, however, and surplus fees increased.

Of the figures given for 1756, the sum of £2 13s. came from white tithes, such as cows, calves, colts, sheep, lambs, pigs, and geese. Fruit, eggs, hemp and flax were rated to value £1 10s. Earlier in the century it appears that the tithe on six cows was 6d., in the case of a maid-servant 2d., on sheep 2d. per fleece, on lambs 3d. each, on 'a Tythe pigg' 1s., in the case of the malt man, 3d.

By 1756, if not earlier, the income of the living included a royalty on coal hewn from beneath the Vicar's glebe land. This should have increased the incumbent's income, but an entry by Fletcher for 1762—his second full year there—reveals a drop. 'Product of the Living received by J. Fletcher in 1762 total £78 18s. 10d. In 1756 De Chambre made an entry which showed that the Madeley Wood coal works paid him £12 3s. 9d. on 375 waggons of coal got under the New Leasow at 6d. per waggon'. Fletcher may have had this or a similar royalty. On the other hand, as business was not his strong point (see his casual methods with the registers), he may not have drawn his dues from this source. He refused to press his dues from the Quakers. However, in 1775 he wrote to De Chambre about the coal royalties, apparently mentioning what was far more important, i.e. the state of God's work in Madeley. The reply he received was as follows:

Dear Sir,—I should be extremely glad to give you all the information in my power relating to the royalty wch I received for Coals got under the glebe of Madeley, but indeed I have not a single paper or Memorandum by me that can give us any information and to the best of my memory I delivered up to you the Books of my Accounts of the Living before or about the time when I resigned it; and I think if you will search them you will find there what was paid me. If not I will tell you that to the best of my recollection the proprietors of the mine paid me 9d. a Tonn at the least. I should think it was worth more if a better coal, and that the present owner cannot refuse that it common justice. What Royalty the Lords of the Manor had I really do not at this time remember.

I am sorry that you do not meet with the looked for success in your spiritual labours, but while men are men if the world has so many charms to claim them to it, I fear it will be so; I find but too much reason to lament the same misfortune and am, My dear sir, your very sincere and affcte. servt. Th.Chambre. Thornton, Jan. 21. 1775.

What Fletcher did about his royalty is not known. But one conjectures that he would not push his advantage for himself. Some time after Mrs Fletcher's death, the incumbent gave consent for coal-getting beneath the glebe, and apparently sought no advantage for himself, or at any rate not enough, for the patron of the living enforced restitution, with the result that £800 went to augment the endowment. In the neighbouring parish of Dawley, in 1774, a royalty of 2s. 6d. per waggon was being paid by collieries of the Horsehay Company. Perhaps Fletcher had become aware of a neglected source of income from which to finance his Madeley Wood chapel, or schemes for the benefit of his beloved poor.

GEORGE LAWTON

(Continued from page 270.)

is a deeper religious experience, a new vital hold upon God and a fresh grasp of the realities of life.' Christian education 'is not and never can be, primarily a matter of technique and method. . . . We are nearest to the heart of the subject when we think of religious education as the endeavour through fellowship to bring to completion the great adventure of creation, the long pain and travail of which are intended to culminate in the revealing of the sons of God.'³

Whatever may have been the successes or failures of the Church in making its contribution to education, here is its abiding task in every part of the world.

ARTHUR W. BANKS

¹ Vol. IV, p. 57.

² *African Education*, p. 63.

³ Oldham and Weigle, in *Jerusalem Conference Report*, Vol. II, pp. 99-100.

GOD IN HISTORY

THREE are various threads along which the history of man can be strung, thus linking past, present, and future into one whole.

First there is the thread of man's physical needs. In the dim dawn of history we see man hunting his prey with sling and stone, and living on the food he can find or kill. Later we see him a shepherd, wandering with his flocks in search of pasture and water. With a rude tent to protect him from the weather he finds food in the flesh of the beasts that form his wealth, and clothing in their skins. Later still he has become a tiller of the ground. A house has replaced the tent. He has learned how to weave the wool of the sheep into warm fabrics. He has discovered the uses of fire, and can melt and fashion metals. Manufacture arises, bringing new comforts and conveniences. Then comes the day when he harnesses the steeds of steam and electricity to his machinery, and lo! here we are in the wonderful present.

It is a tremendous leap from man the hunter to man the creator of modern civilization, but there is a link connecting them. Now, as then, man is joining his strength and wit to the forces of Nature, using them or fighting them, in the effort to live. The modes and weapons of the struggle have changed, but the struggle is the same. Hunger and thirst, cold and heat are man's tyrants that have driven him; comfort and excitement, ornament and harmony, are the allurements that have drawn him. If he would live and enjoy he must work. It was so when man wandered in the primeval forest; it is still so in our complex and artificial civilization. In all ages the life-force has been man's task-master.

Another thread on which human history can be strung is the intellectual instinct of curiosity; man has always been trying to understand. There is a saying that a fool can ask a question which a wise man cannot answer; it is not quite true. Fools do not ask questions, except trivial and foolish ones. Children ask questions; wise men ask questions. The power to ask questions is the sign of mental capacity, and the nature of the questions measures the greatness of the mind. One of the characteristic marks of man is that he has always been knocking at the door of mystery. In the days before civilization began, before writing was invented, men were inquisitive. Their world of ideas was so remote from ours and so strange that no effort of imagination can re-create it for us; but it was a world surrounded by mystery—mystery recognized and tremblingly interrogated.

In time, mythologies and philosophies arose in answer to man's questions. Schools were founded in which knowledge was sought for its own sake. In ancient Greece great thinkers started those enquiries into the origin of the world and of life, the essence of matter and of spirit, that still exercise our minds. Then man learned a new attitude to Nature. With his ear bent low to the earth he listened for its secrets. A well-educated schoolboy today knows many facts about the world and life, about his own body and mind, of which the most learned scholar in ancient times was ignorant. But there is a cord that unites today with yesterday—the desire to know. A never-satisfied curiosity binds all the centuries together.

Another thread on which the history of man can be strung is religion; always and everywhere man has been a worshipper. The very rudest races have the

instinct of religion. Their worship is sometimes cruel, sometimes immoral; but as the instinct develops through the centuries, we trace its expressions growing ever more intelligent and refined, giving birth to truer ideas and nobler forms of worship. Earlier faiths give way to faiths more spiritual and moral. Great religions arise. There is a wide gulf between the worship of a savage Hottentot and that of a cultured Christian, but the gulf is bridged; for each is obeying the same instinct—the sense of an unseen world that surrounds us and impinges on us. In all ages religion has been an impelling force.

These various threads—physical, mental, spiritual—run through history, linking all the generations of men. Is there any connexion between these diverse lines of development, any common factor in the various urges behind man's advance? I think there is, and it is expressed in the one word—God. God is the home of humanity in the very broadest sense: 'in Him we live and move and have our being'. God is not simply the goal of human life, but its atmosphere; He is not only the end of humanity's long march, but the spirit of progress within man, the ultimate impelling power. In all ages man, seeking food or truth or goodness, sinning and suffering, rising and falling, loving and worshipping—man in the whole of his unfolding experience has lived in God.

Look again at man striving to live and enjoy. The key to all human development has been found by many scholars in the pressure of physical need. All great achievements—civilization, knowledge, morality, religion—are simply products, so it is said, of the passion of man to live. In its extreme form the theory cannot be true. The higher cannot be explained by the lower. But the fact that the theory will not bear all the weight that is sometimes put on it should not blind us to the truth that is in it. Why are the races in temperate climates more advanced than those in tropical climates? Mainly because the struggle to live is keener, and thus energy, fortitude, and skill have been more developed. The ways in which life finds expression—intellectual and moral as well as physical—are powerfully affected by the conditions of the struggle for existence; the roots of the highest things are fixed in the material. What is there more beautiful than a mother's love for her child? But motherhood is a physical relation; mother love has its roots in physical instinct, though its lovely blossoms are the flowers of heaven.

Is not God in all this struggle for life? The pressure of hunger and cold, drawing out man's power and resourcefulness, is it not God's hand pushing him forward? Life is God's gift, and with it He gave also the instincts that make for the preservation and continuance of life. When we are rightly obeying these instincts are we not fulfilling a part of His purpose? Of course our bodily instincts need to be disciplined, brought under the rule of reason and conscience; but the instincts themselves are good and sound, and through them God is leading us. In all ages God has been man's guide in his struggle for life.

Passing to man the curious, do we not see God in the passion for truth? When this child of instinct rubs his eyes and asks, 'Whence came I? Whither am I going? What is this strange world around me?' is it not again God's hand pushing him further along the upward way? The world whose secrets man is exploring is God's world; its forces are His energies; its laws are obeying His will. All truth is God's truth, and man's curiosity to know is God's opportunity to reveal Himself. In all ages God has been leading man as he has stood knocking wistfully or imperatively at the door of mystery.

We all recognize that the instinct of religion is God-given. But it may be that we need to broaden our idea of religion. We may see God in the highest, but fail to see Him in the steps that led to the highest. We are too ready to believe that only Christianity, and perhaps only that form of it that we accept, has any real value. But surely it is not wise to despise the blossom because the later fruit is so sweet?

*Darkling our forefathers went the first steps of the way;
'Twas but the dawning, yet to grow into the perfect day.*

'Twas but the dawning—but it was God's sun that was rising on the world, and He was in the dawn as truly as in the blaze of day. In all ages God has been man's inspirer as, with many blunders and deviations, he has groped his way to a clearer consciousness of the Power that held him.

Many threads run through history, making it a unity. We of the present join hands with the men of long ago and with those who will follow us. And the ground of the unity of man and of history is God. E. B. STORR

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

INCREDIBLE though it may seem, it is possible to arrive in South Africa in fog: We did. The previous evening the knowledgeable ones had spoken rapturously of the exhilarating Cape scenery, but in the morning we were edging into Table Bay with no clear view of the promised land. The ship's engine speeds had been unaccountably irregular during the night, but even though some of us had been awake in consequence, few had imagined the weather to be responsible. Yet so it was, and emerging expectantly from the hatchways, the early risers found the 'golden land' was a grey one, or at least what patches could be seen of it through the gaps in the swirling mists. It was unexpected, and yet a significant symbol. A symbol of the mental fog through which many view South Africa.

It is not to be wondered at, however, that there are many misconceptions of the South African situation for the circumstances easily lend themselves to misunderstanding.

For example, the word 'Africa' conjures up in many minds visions of a 'dark continent' of steaming jungles, heathen ignorance, primitive customs, Livingstonian explorations, missionary adventures, wild animals! They probably

know that there are modern towns with skyscrapers and buses and electric trains and hordes of cars, but these somehow are not reckoned to be a large, nor indeed an integral part of the true South Africa. South Africa is the land of the African! Obviously! So the reasoning runs. It seems that the imagination finds it difficult to include the primitive and modern in one setting, but a true conception demands it. A notice displayed in a Johannesburg store admirably illustrates this. It says: 'Barefooted persons must not use the escalator': Which way of life is more typically South African? Neither! Both are deeply rooted and both make their specific contribution to one whole. This is just one example of the facts to which the visitor must adjust his thinking if he is adequately to understand the South African scene.

The visitor to South Africa has indeed many discoveries to make, some pleasant and some unpleasant; some heartening and some disappointing; some beguiling and some frightening. The publicity brochures naturally paint their picture of the country in the rosiest hues. 'South Africa has so much to offer', is their theme. . . . 'Lonely African bush studded with modern civilization . . . surf-swept beaches and towering mountains . . . colourful native kraals and tall skyscraper cities . . . everlasting sunshine. . . .' It is well-nigh impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the South African landscape, the fascination of Non-European ways of life, the picturesqueness of dress and custom in the native areas, the kindness of the climate, and other attractive features. All these the publications of the tourist agencies seek to impress upon the potential visitor, and well they might. But it would be misleading to suggest that these convey the full range of impressions the visitor receives. Nor are they the most important, for after all people count more than places. What, then, of the people?

As the ship draws slowly alongside the quay, the dock officials wait to set in motion the usual hustle and bustle. But if instead of watching those proceedings, you watch the children peering through the ship's rails out on to the scene below, you will inevitably anticipate the explosion: 'Look! There's a black man, Mummy!' And it is not surprising, for there are now many more non-Europeans in the European urban areas that there are white people in the whole country, and the overall population has a proportion of almost four non-Europeans to one white.

In actual fact, they are not all 'black', though the 'black men' of pure African race preponderate. These are frequently called Bantu, which name distinguishes them from the Negroes further north. At Cape Town the non-Europeans are any shade from light to dark, and mostly belong to the Cape Coloured community, which is a people of mixed race originating from the cross-breeding of white and non-white in past days. At Durban most are brown, and of Indian stock. But even at these places the Bantu are numerous and form by far the largest population group in the country. Almost everywhere and at all times the ubiquitous 'Native' will appear.

With such a medley of races, it is natural that the prominent feature in South African life is the matter of human relationships. In fact, what distinguishes South Africa more than all else from other countries is not even the climate, but the matter of race relations. Nowhere else is there such a complex society, and it is mainly this complexity which makes 'problem' so common a word

in the South African vocabulary. 'South Africa has more problems to the square mile than any country in the world' is a frequent admission heard from South Africans, 'and,' they say, 'the "race" problem is *the* problem'.

Probably the most striking feature in this pattern of race relations is the attitude of the South African Europeans to coloured people in general. It is more than consciousness of colour. We are all quickly conscious of any departure from what we look upon as normal. The extra-tall man, the gipsies passing in their caravan, the new fashion in clothes, the dark-skinned person—all attract our attention; and if we do not actually stare, we gaze as long and closely as courtesy permits! But this need mean no more than curiosity. The attitude of the whites to the non-whites in South Africa, however, goes far deeper than mere awareness of difference. It takes the form of a prejudice against all with coloured skins; it is, no doubt, largely automatic and unthinking. In some it is strong, in some negligible, possibly in a very few non-existent. One can thankfully believe that it is decreasing, but it still remains very obvious to the visitor from overseas.

In Britain a white family invites an Indian family to tea. They laugh and talk together, sharing common interests on a common level and showing equal deference to each other. It is difficult to believe that if similar hospitality and attitude were frequently shown in a South African European home, ostracism by the bulk of the white community would be the inevitable result; but that is what would happen.

It is not long before the visitor to South Africa discovers the existence of this attitude. He may do so embarrassingly by attempting to shake hands with the African servant, and be taken aback by the servant's incredulity and the host's and hostess's shock! He will be certain to meet it in conversation. Conversation soon becomes highly charged with emotion, and reason takes a back seat when the colour question is discussed. If this should produce the assertion from the visitor (*naïve* fellow!) that mixed marriages are harmless, it will be hotter inside than out even in midsummer!

The practical expression of this attitude is to make, by various means, the non-European 'keep his place'. There are many people who treat the non-European kindly and considerately, and who sincerely wish to see a satisfactory end to this superior-inferior relationship. But the whole social system and climate of opinion is at present against it. A visitor soon finds that he cannot easily remain free from its ramifications. In trying to be friendly, he may, in his innocence, invite the 'native boy' (house servant) to sit and chat in his host's dining-room, and be surprised when he disappears to fetch the kitchen chair—the dining-room chair is not for him!

The African, in particular, has so well and truly learnt his place that he finds it extremely difficult to escape from it. For instance, the well-qualified school teacher does not lose all his submissiveness even before the white urchin. One of the embarrassments of interracial gatherings, in which whites may genuinely try to prove their dislike of domination by meeting on equal terms with other races, is the automatic deference shown them by most non-Europeans, however talented or educated these may be. Other non-Europeans, in trying to overcome this, may, because they are unused to mixing on equal terms with whites, give the impression of being bumptious. On the other hand, the

European finds it extremely difficult to overcome the ingrained superior attitude and still remain unself-conscious.

There are various ways in which this subordination is maintained and regulated, but the most obvious one is by social segregation. In many areas of activity the European must keep to his territory and the non-European to his. Buses, trains, waiting-rooms, seats—and cemeteries—are in almost all cases duplicated, one for each group. You quickly get into the habit of looking for 'Europeans Only' or the Afrikaans equivalent '*Slegs vir Blanke*'.

The separation is arranged chiefly for the whites' convenience and exists so far as the whites desire it. Where it is inconvenient then association is permissible! For example, non-whites may be employed in Europeans' homes. The servant is not excluded from the kitchen and cooking the meals, handling the cutlery, or making the beds! The non-European 'nannie' in many cases, baths, dresses, feeds—and spansks—the babies! At the same time we must not imagine that this willingness to permit such close contact is as illogical as it appears, for while it is the reverse of the principle of separation, it is still in accord with the master-servant relationship, and domination as the South African liberal, Dr R. F. A. Hoernlé said, 'is the fundamental fact in the South African scene'.

Another characteristic of South African society is indicated by the following incident. A little lad who had recently returned to England from a visit to South Africa ran home from school with the comment: 'Mummy, there's a boy at school with such dirty trousers!' Mother explained: 'well, perhaps his Mummy hasn't another pair for him to wear.' 'Oh, but he isn't an African boy, Mummy' was the rejoinder. The boy's implicit assessment of African wealth was one any visitor would make. Poverty would be suspected from the shabbiness of the dress, and a visit to a native location (township) confirms it, for there one can see the meagreness of the African's possessions.

It is frequently pointed out that non-European wage-rates in the Union are, on the whole, higher than in neighbouring territories, and the struggle to live is in most cases harder there than in South Africa itself. That is true and naturally offers some comfort, yet it can be no reason for complacency or even congratulation. Diphtheria may be worse than measles, but measles is still bad, and it remains true that the vast bulk of the African population is having an increasingly bitter struggle to provide the bare necessities of life.

One could expect that such a situation would produce a high proportion of citizens with little respect for the law. This, in fact, is so, and the British visitor or immigrant soon misses the feeling of comparative security which exists in the land he left. The burglar-proofing on the windows, most profuse in the Johannesburg area, makes one suspect that fear is a prominent feature of European life. When the women are warned not to walk or even drive a car alone in the dark, the suspicion is confirmed.

The danger is no doubt greater for non-Europeans than Europeans. An African youth was walking home with his mother in the Germiston location when he was set upon by a gang and murdered before his mother's eyes. She pleaded with them to stop and asked them why they were doing it. They 'just wanted something to do', they said.

At the same time, however, it is probably true that the danger becomes

exaggerated and fear develops into a phobia. Overseas readers of news from South Africa easily get the impression that it stares from every face; it is, in fact, not very obvious—superficially that is—but is, nevertheless, a factor of which one becomes increasingly aware. The immediate anxiety arises from criminal and violent elements among the non-Europeans in particular. The long-range and less prominent fear is that of a widespread disregard of law and order by the subordinate races in striving to throw off their yoke.

One more black spot must be indicated. This arises from the relations between the two chief European sections, British and Afrikaners. There can be nothing intrinsically harmful in a country's having two languages in common use. But there is something wrong if, for instance, an English-speaking town councillor leaves the chamber because an Afrikaans councillor speaks in his own language; or, on the other hand, if the playing of 'God Save the Queen' in a cinema is interrupted by the exit of disapproving Afrikaner nationalists. Unfortunately, the bilingualism is accompanied by, and is symbolic of, a more fundamental and unhappy division. The two European groups, though in reality interdependent, are largely distinct and conflicting entities. Through intermarriage and sharing of cultures, there are many bridges, but, nevertheless, the cleavage is still a wide one. It is probably true that no European holds a bitterness so deep for the non-European as that which can be found between the two European sections. This division fills the mental horizon of every white individual, and a South African has the habit of quietly and automatically placing every new white acquaintance into his particular racial group and modifying his own attitude accordingly; for the approach to a Britisher will be different from that to an Afrikaner, although the difference is subtle.

Although racial friction must be given its due place in any description of the country, it is, nevertheless, still possible to visualize the land as one full of lure and charm, and the visitor has many delightful experiences awaiting him. Climate, landscape, and fruits of the earth are often emphasized as the main attractions, but human relations are not by any means all unpleasant and it would be a travesty to represent them so. The warm friendliness one experiences is in fact only rivalled by the sunshine itself.

The cloudy 'table cloth' which frequently spreads itself on Table Mountain is a much-quoted and appropriate symbol of the overwhelming hospitality one receives. This would be positively embarrassing were it not offered so naturally and unassumingly. The story of the cars lined up at Durban docks to whisk away the newly disembarked Servicemen during the last war, almost before they could say 'Yes!', became a legend. And what is true of the English-speaking is true of the Afrikaner.

The lack of reserve, the unconventionalism, the easy camaraderie which one finds after the more staid and formal life of Britain brings a sense of liberation as from a social strait-jacket. And in contrast to the lethargy at home, one becomes conscious of a vigorous zest for life and is soon caught up in the enthusiasm which obtains in a young and developing country.

While the cost of living is roughly on a par with that in Britain, European pay is better and the standard of living higher. What many in Britain would call luxuries are looked upon as essentials. Immigrants gain advantages normally beyond their grasp in their previous homeland. South Africans have a

self-deprecating expression, 'Any fool can get on in South Africa!' The truth in this is that there is great opportunity of profiting from one's abilities.

One might expect that all pleasure would be blighted by the thought of the deprivations suffered by the less fortunate non-Europeans. But some comfort may be found in the examples of generous and sacrificial concern which are met with. One might, for instance, meet with something similar to the following: A Cape Coloured girl who was a first offender in a remand home was taken from the home by a European couple to be their housemaid with the intention of giving her a chance to make good. Soon, however, she was expecting an illegitimate child, and, in fear, ran away. Her employers searched for her, and, having found her, assured her of their continuing help. The baby was born, cot and equipment were freely provided, and an attempt was made to persuade the child's father to marry the girl, but this was unsuccessful. Now the girl's mistress is helping her to rear the baby by European methods and is being rewarded by the fidelity and devotion of the girl. Nor is this type of action limited to isolated incidents.

More important is the fact that much thought and labour are expended by organizations and individuals that are working for a complete reversal of present unfavourable attitudes and policies. One wishes that still more of such work were evident, but at least it is possible to discover early in one's contact with South African life, that all is not oppression and friction.

W. F. BACON

G. K. CHESTERTON, THE PRINCE OF PARADOX

IT IS NO wonder that Gilbert Keith Chesterton was a writer of paradox, for it would seem to have been in his constitution. He was partly Scotch and partly French—and very English! His capacity for paradox is one of his great values to the modern mind. More and more we are becoming convinced that ultimate truth is paradoxical—that is, that it is the balance and harmony and reconciliation of apparently divergent truths. The very fact that Chesterton could achieve so many paradoxes with such sublime success in his writings is itself a proof of how essentially paradoxical truth can be.

I suppose quite a number of us were introduced to G. K. Chesterton by the charming one-column essays which he used to contribute years ago to the *Daily News* of London, although these were the merest sparks from the anvil. The world for which these essays were written had just emerged from the Boer War and was beginning to think of the Victorian era as passing, if not passed.

Chesterton broke boldly and perhaps a little rudely upon the scene, and with smashing blows he destroyed what had been hitherto the dull prosiness of the usual essay. It has been very well said that he gave to the essay at one and the same time 'a form that was light and a thought that was heavy'. Perhaps the most famous of these essays was one which described Chesterton going out upon a sketching expedition to the South Downs. There, sitting upon one of those notable hills to commence his work, he found that he had come away without any white chalk, so perforce he spent the day in meditation, instead of in sketching, until he realized suddenly, at the end of the day, that all the time he had been sitting on a mountain of white chalk!

That is just the Gilbertian situation—to use a term that seems to apply equally well to G.K.C. as to W. S. Gilbert—in which Chesterton revels. What seemed unfortunately remote at the moment was all the time tantalizingly near. So in all his essays of this type he is constantly making situations double back on their tracks; when you are up, you find you are down, and when you are down, you find you are up, and the one certain result is that you cannot read Chesterton without developing a new suppleness of mind. In fact, he is like a valuable cross-bar in gymnastics; he turns you over and over and over again, till you scarcely know whether you are on your head or your heels, though you will probably finish up by finding Chesterton shouting at you stentoriously that you are right way up. Splendid gymnastics, but it is apt to leave you a little breathless.

Let us take one or two extracts: Here is Chesterton writing about public worship and insisting upon its appalling privacy: 'Anyone who chooses to walk into a large church on a Sunday morning may see a hundred men . . . each alone with his Maker. He stands in truth in the presence of one of the strangest spectacles in the world—a mob of hermits.'

Here he is writing upon humility as luxury, and proving his point, too: 'Humility is a luxurious art of reducing ourselves to a point, not to a small thing or a large one, but to a thing with no size at all, so that today all the cosmic things are what they really are—of immeasurable stature.'

Here he is writing in defence of baby worship: 'The fascination of children lies in this, that with each of them all things are re-made and the universe is put again on its trial.'

And here is another charming passage: 'Their too heavy dignity is more touching than any humility; their solemnity gives to us more hope for all things than a thousand carnivals of optimism; their large and lustrous eyes seem to hold all the stars in their astonishment; their fascinating absence of nose seems to give us the most perfect hint of the humour that awaits us in the Kingdom of Heaven.'

Another notable volume of essays is *The Heretics*, in which Chesterton deals with some of the more brilliant of his contemporaries, such as Rudyard Kipling, Bernard Shaw, Lowes Dickinson, George Moore, and Whistler. He has one sentence about Wells which, I think, is a perfect gem. He writes: 'One can lie awake at night and hear him grow.' That hits off the splendid restlessness of Wells. Nevertheless, there is in the essay an excellent and generous tribute to the great mental powers of H.G.

Chesterton's consideration of the other men must not detain us, except when

he is writing about Whistler, as follows: 'He was one of those people who live up to their emotional incomes, who are always taut and tingling with vanity. Hence he had no strength to spare, hence he had no kindness, no geniality, for geniality is almost definable as "strength to spare". He had no God-like carelessness, he never forgot himself. His whole life was, to use his own expression, "an arrangement".'

Chesterton defined the Puritan principle as the principle that the mind of man can only deal with the mind of God direct. He makes the unfortunate assertion that the Puritan hated music because it was beautiful; that he hated art because it was beautiful, and liked himself because he was ugly.

He has much to say about the Puritan's sense of superiority, and at length asserts very cleverly that Puritanism is an aristocracy. He says: 'It was the most awful of aristocracies—that of the elect, for it was not a right of birth but a right before birth and, alone of all nobilities, it was not laid level in the dust.'

Sometimes he plays the role of prophet. He writes: 'I can see no escape from it [the Slave State] for ourselves in the ruts of our present reforms, but only by doing what the mediaevalists did after the other barbarian defeat: beginning by guilds and small independent groups to restore the personal property of the poor and the personal freedom of the family.' Otherwise, he is sure that we shall become a servile State.

Chesterton's books on Dickens and Browning, while they are highly critical, approach closely to hero-worship, though after all, when we remember that the word 'critic' simply means 'judge', perhaps a keen admiration is one of the first essentials of a sound judgement.

Chesterton believes that Dickens's life had the closest possible relation to his work. A good instance of this is the way in which Chesterton sees the fact that Dickens spent his life in part in a blacking factory as an effective reply to those critics who think him over-cheerful and exaggeratedly possessed of high spirits. How, he asks, can a man who has spent much of his boyhood in a foul blacking factory write unreal cheerfulness? And in proper Chestertonian style, he cries: 'If he learnt to whitewash the universe, it was in a blacking factory that he learnt it.'

He goes on to the paradoxical verdict that Dickens is at one with the poor people because sad experiences have made him cheerful. 'It is only the rich who can afford to be sad, for they have lost everything.'

His book on Browning was the one that brought Chesterton fame, and the profound nature of the poet's work gives ample scope to Chesterton's love of paradox. It has been said that it is in discovering the reason for Browning's form that Chesterton shows himself so superior to the other Browning critics. They have seen in Browning a poet who uses form with perversity; Chesterton has seen in him a poet who uses form with great diversity. Browning tried to make his verse copy the thing he was describing: hence, as Chesterton puts it—'The verse sprawls like the trees, dances like the dust, it is ragged like the thundercloud, it is top-heavy like the toadstool'.

Here is another shrewd judgement of Browning: 'There is nothing that the man loved more, nothing that deserves more emphatically to be called a specialty of Browning, than the utterance of large and noble truths by the lips of mean and grotesque human beings.'

As a poet, Chesterton will always be remembered for his 'Ballad of the White Horse,' the story of King Alfred the Great. As someone has said: 'The poem moves like a horse at full gallop.' There is space to quote only two of the three best stanzas, which incidentally exhibit again Chesterton's fondness for paradox as the key to truth. Here is the grand climax of the poem:

*The men of the East may spell the stars,
And times and triumphs mark,
But the men signed of the Cross of Christ
Go gaily in the dark.*

*The men of the East may search the scrolls
For sure fates and fame,
But the men that drink the blood of God
Go singing to their shame.*

Turning to his novels, which are entirely unlike those of any other writer, I can only select the most significant one among them for reference. It is in *Napoleon of Notting Hill* that we see his genius at its best. A sordid, interior London suburb is made glorious with knightly romance. A little man, Auberon Quin (mixture of Oberon and Harlequin) is elected King of England. He tries to improve the local patriotism of the London boroughs, with startling results. The provost of Notting Hill revolts against a dark intrigue of other boroughs to seize a bit of its territory—a dirty little street called Pump Street. Wild war surges up in London as Adam Wayne calls his fellow citizens to arms. Here is a sample of Adam's patriotism. Somebody sneers at Notting Hill. The Provost cries: 'There has never been anything in the world absolutely like Notting Hill. There never will be anything quite like it to the crack of doom. I cannot believe anything but that God loved it as He must surely love everything that is itself and unreplaceable. But even for that I do not care. If God with all His thunders hated it, *I loved it.*'

Then comes the greatest thing in prose that G. K. Chesterton ever wrote, the latter part of which, I think, should be written in letters of gold and kept as a precious talisman for future generations. Auberon Quin, the King, after Notting Hill is defeated, voices his scepticism, saying:

'Suppose I am God and suppose I made the world in idleness. Suppose the stars, that you think eternal, are only the idiot fireworks of an everlasting schoolboy. Suppose the sun and moon, to which you sing alternately are only the two eyes of one vast and sneering giant, opened alternately in a never-ending wink. Suppose the trees, in my eyes, are as foolish as enormous toad-stools. Suppose Socrates and Charlemagne are to me only beasts made funnier by walking on their hind legs. Suppose I am God and having made things, laugh at them?'

'And suppose I am man!' answered the other [Adam Wayne]. 'And suppose that I give the answer that shatters even a laugh. Suppose I do not laugh back at you, do not blaspheme you, do not curse you. But suppose, standing up straight under the sky, with every power of my being, I thank you for the fools' paradise you have made. Suppose I praise you, with a literal pain of ecstasy for the jest that has brought me so terrible a joy. If we have taken the child's games and given them the seriousness of a Crusade, if we have drenched your grotesque Dutch garden with the blood of

martyrs, we have turned the nursery into a temple. I ask you, in the name of heaven, who wins?"

Chesterton is undoubtedly one of the last great champions of individualism, and the way in which he towers up above most of us, both physically and in a literary way, is exquisitely symbolic; yet his message in this respect will fall practically upon deaf ears today, because the modern world is quite convinced that the cult of true individualism is to be found only in a harmonious society composed of personalities with some fairly equal claims to mutual recognition. There is a tragic pointlessness in the growth of an individual human being above his kind, unless that growth is turned to the service of his kind. If, however, it is maintained only by atrocious cruelty, as, for example, in the case of Mussolini, or equally in the case of the Bolshevik tyranny, or equally in the case of a financial colossus, it will never be accepted by rational humanity as the true ideal of the race.

G. K. Chesterton is a Roman Catholic, of course, through the pressure of his love of paradox. Perhaps Catholicism is the only safe place for such an exaggerated individualist; certainly it is the height of paradox that such a man should turn to the most stereotyping machine in the religious world to find a spiritual home!

Both in 'Orthodoxy' and in 'The Resurrection of Rome', Chesterton stresses the comprehensiveness of Roman Christianity without apparently suspecting the chameleon-like character of the Roman system. Bearing in mind this kind of tribute, of which Chesterton is so fond, we may point out that Rome is so comprehensive as to present the spectacle simply of the Pagan world in religious clothes. The intense and passionate selectiveness of New Testament Christianity is strangely absent from it—in fact, if Chesterton is a true lover of individuality one must ask; 'What is he doing in this galley, where the right of private judgement in general is so ruthlessly denied, and the right of individual conscience and belief is so rigorously repressed?'

Take, for example, the one question of ritual. Chesterton gibes at the Protestant for finding vestments and ceremonies so tolerable in civic functions and yet so intolerable in the life of the Church, but he misses the logic of the Protestant position, which would regard ritualism as having its true place in those relationships of men where differing functions are stressed and differing offices are to be honoured, and sees in it, nevertheless, something of an outrage when men in company with one another seek that God who is Spirit and before whom all men are essentially souls.

The passion of Protestant religion is to be thoroughly human in its approach to God—and, incidentally, such an approach binds humanity together; it does not break it up into a hierarchy of authority and servitude, and Protestantism sees increasingly that true religion is not so much an aspect of current civilization, a mere reflection, a mirror of it, but is the reorganization of human society upon a totally different fundamental principle.

'The saints shall judge the world'; not simply reflect it. ALBERT D. BELDEN

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA

THE UNANIMOUS decision of the United States Supreme Court in May 1954 that the segregation of white and black scholars in publicly-supported schools is unconstitutional marks one of the biggest steps forward taken in the last ninety years for the complete emancipation of the American Negro. The decision itself reflects rather than moulds public opinion, for there is growing in the United States a strong belief that continued discrimination, wherever it may be found, not only damages the country in the eyes of the world, but is a source of hidden conflicts and social bitterness within the country itself. Thus there was rejoicing in the United States that this great hurdle had been cleared, for it promises for the future a healthier and cleaner social atmosphere, and a finer, nobler strength in international affairs. The later related decisions on segregation in housing, parks, and entertainment mean, in effect, that any segregation is unconstitutional. These decisions, however, have yet to be implemented, and there still exists, quite apart from educational discrimination, a wide range of social and legal practices that would be better ended.

The discrimination that currently exists in America against the Negro is of two kinds—legal and social. Legal discrimination exists in such matters as marriage. Several states have made it illegal for a Negro to marry a white, and prison sentences have resulted. But by far the greater portion of existing discrimination falls under the heading 'social'. It is widespread, occurring all over America, but is most vicious in the southern, ex-slave states, where most Negroes live in a state of economic and political subjection. The discrimination against the Negro has an economic basis. In the southern, agricultural states there is a system of share-cropping and peonage that embodies many of the disadvantages of slavery with few of its advantages. In the northern, industrial states, and in other areas all over the United States, the majority of Negroes live in shabby tenements in black ghettos—cities within cities, so to speak. Harlem in New York City is a typical example of such an area.

But these conditions do not exist only in America. Some degree of similar discrimination is found all over the world in one form or another. So widespread are racial and religious hatreds that it might almost seem that discrimination of this nature satisfies a deep-felt human need. Very few peoples, if any, escape the indictment. Conditions in America are worse than in some countries, but better than in others.

Negro slaves were first introduced into America early in the seventeenth century, and for nearly 250 years they were regarded as personal property. It was because of their economic value that due care was taken of them. It was only when the Federal Constitution provided for their equality with the white man that steps were taken, both legally and illegally, to prevent the practical application of this legal change. In many cases, outright violence was used against both the Negroes and 'Negro-lovers'. Various legal steps were taken to prevent negroes from voting: poll taxes were imposed which Negroes were too poor to pay; a test of literacy had to be passed before a vote could be cast; and a proviso was made that only a person whose grandfather was on the electoral list would be allowed to vote. In some instances lynchings and murders

occurred when Negroes cast votes, and in others whole Negro families were compelled under threats of violence to leave town. Similar but often milder practices are still enforced today by social and illegal pressures in many areas in the southern states, especially in those places where the Negroes greatly outnumber the whites. That there have been substantial improvements over recent decades and even in recent years is fortunately true. Happily, a lynching has not been recorded for two years or more, but there is still a grave social problem which has tended to erupt now that the Federal Supreme Court has ruled against the educational segregation of the Negro. There has been in the past, and could well be in the future, an outright contempt for established law typical of much southern American feeling on the Negro question.

Apart from the country-wide discrimination against the Negro in the field of employment, which forms the backbone of the body of discriminatory practices, there is, especially in the southern states, a deliberate attempt to prevent Negroes improving their position through the usual educational processes. Educational facilities for the Negro in the South are often considerably inferior to those provided for white scholars. In the northern states there is very much less discrimination, although generally speaking the Negro is at a disadvantage both from economic and social motives. Many thousands of Negroes, however, complete full university courses, thus obtaining an educational status not achieved by the majority of white students. But the majority of Negroes suffer from this economic and educational discrimination. Thus, despite the appearance of Negroes in flashy cars and of odd Negroes in positions of great national importance, it is true that most of them live in poor surroundings and with civil rights very much inferior to those of the whites. Disease and crime tend to be higher in such areas than elsewhere. In some cases, even in the northern states, mob rule, aided by local police forces, has prevented on occasions free speech for Negroes. In other cases, riots have occurred when Negro families have moved into what was accepted as a white housing area. In these cases, the culprits are hardly ever caught. Furniture is destroyed, houses and flats are broken into, and other acts of vandalism and violence are common.

The position of Negroes in American society is a rather peculiar one in that most of them have American ancestry going much farther back than that of the majority of white Americans. Then too there is no linguistic trouble. English has been spoken by the Negroes from generation to generation, and their claim to American citizenship is much more valid in moral law than that of many immigrant groups. It is still true, however, that because of their colour and their ex-slave status the Negroes suffer most in discriminatory practices.

They are not by any means the only group to suffer, for if there is no out-and-out legal discrimination against Jews, Roman Catholics, and Quakers (among the religious minorities), and against Italians, Greeks, Poles, and Chinese (among the racial minorities), there are varying degrees of social discrimination, though it does not generally have the same impact as that against the Negro. The Red Indians, now federally supervised, do not really enter into the main stream of American social life.

The Jewish race in America suffers from many of the discriminations that have long afflicted that race. Some of the universities restrict the number of

Jewish entrants, often by means of a quota system. Certain clubs, summer resorts, and guest-houses do the same, in many cases with little tact or regard for personal feelings. Some firms discriminate against Jews both when taking on and discharging workers. There is a tendency in universities for the social clubs to be either Jewish or non-Jewish, with varying social advantages and disadvantages. Anti-Semitism is also fostered by many one-man propaganda organizations. A few wealthy men seem to engage in such activities as a hobby, and others have tried to make a successful business out of disseminating racial hatred and bitterness. Part of this anti-semitism is typically American in that it stems from the widespread American dislike of people who differ from the accepted norm. Protestantism is the major religion in America, and even that has lost some of its distinctiveness. Life in America has tended to flatten all types of separateness, and the uneasy feeling that many Americans have when faced with something not wholly American probably accounts for some, but not all of the social discriminations against Jews. The same applies to Roman Catholics. The feeling here is less intense than that against the Jews, but the alleged un-Americanism of Roman Catholicism is probably the basic cause. The result is that the immigration quotas reflect an anti-Roman Catholic bias, and there are professional hate-mongers who circulate vicious pamphlets alleging all types of crimes against Roman Catholics.

Apart from discrimination on grounds of colour and religion, there is a similar feeling against certain groups of immigrants. The Chinese, for example, were long discriminated against both legally and socially. Now only social discrimination applies. This, however, seems to have declined considerably in recent decades, and today there is often a very friendly feeling for the Chinese-Americans, possibly because they have proved industrious, law-abiding, and courteous citizens. During the war years there was, as might have been expected, a certain amount of hatred and fear of Japanese-Americans and Italian-Americans. These two groups do not seem to have been assimilated into American society. The case of the Japanese is fairly easy to understand, but that of the Italians is very much harder to appreciate. A 'little Italy' may be found in many American cities. This fact probably stems from the village type of life led by the original immigrants from Italy, and to the basic intention of many of these immigrants to return to their native land when savings are adequate. Many Italians are in the poorer economic groups, and they are regarded by some Americans with a certain mild contempt, noticeable in such slang names as 'meatball' for those of Italian stock. Possibly the feeling against Italians will go the same way as that which originally existed against the Chinese. The ordinary American also feels superior to his fellow-countrymen of Mexican stock, and to Filipinos and Porto Ricans. The latter are, of course, American citizens born, but in New York City especially they have tended to create slum areas on account of their low economic status and lack of industrial skills.

It is possible that the group distinctions so noticeable in America are the counterpart of the absence of so-called class distinctions among the whites. In America generally, class distinctions have a financial basis, and there is a tendency for families and individuals to emphasize the possession of wealth by the type of car and residence. It may be, however, that this social practice does not wholly satisfy the apparent need of men to feel superior to other groups

or classes. Thus the antagonistic feeling against certain immigrant groups, and the changes in feeling as new immigrant groups formed part of the social picture.

It should not be concluded from the above account of discrimination in America that racial and religious hatreds are obvious in daily life. Apart from the position of the Negro in the ex-slave states, this is not so. The majority of Americans do not suffer discrimination, except that stemming from personal economic status and resulting in having to buy a less attractive house or inferior car. But it is probably also true that a Briton living in the United States is not so aware of the other types of discrimination as those Americans who were born and raised (as Americans say) in the United States, or as those, such as the Jews, who keenly feel the social practices connected with housing and education. One hears now and again of Jews who have changed their names so as to avoid such treatment whenever possible. The social picture is very confused, and the position of minority groups varies both from state to state and among the cities and towns and villages in each state. The Negro is in the worst position of all, but here there is a very definite even if relatively slow trend of improvement.

JOHN BROWN

CHARLES RYDER SMITH (1873-1956)

AT THE end of each year, Richmond College gives thanks for its great tradition of 'saints and scholars, evangelists, teachers and pastors, and all holy and humble men of heart'. Many there are who can be thought of as in one or more of these categories. Of the few elect for whom all these gifts might be claimed is one who, not in the narrow sense 'a Richmond man', yet lives in the hearts of the men of more than two decades as the very embodiment of Richmond.

Charles Ryder Smith was born in Mansfield on 10th January 1873, the son of the Rev. John Smith. He was educated at Kingswood, which he remembered with gratitude to the end. Of his many honours, none pleased him more than to have been President of the Old Boys' Union in 1937. On leaving school in 1890 he became a master at Trowbridge Grammar School. From here he was received as a candidate for the ministry and went to Headingley College. After a year as supply in Cambridge, he returned to Headingley as Assistant Tutor for three years.

After ordination in 1899 he married Miss Charlotte Jane Taylor, B.A., and they were appointed to Stow-on-the-Wold. Ryder Smith was to have a succession of 'good' circuits, but affectionate reminiscence turned back most frequently to the year at Stow. There began the happy married life which ran its earthly course till Easter, 1954. There he learned the arts of preaching and pastoral work. There, with the enthusiastic co-operation of his wife, he began the disciplined study which was to have such great results.

From 1900 to 1920, with one gap, he served in northern circuits—a fit sphere for this man who had the blood of the north in his veins and whose every act and word expressed rugged integrity. The gap was 1903-8, when he ministered to the English-speaking congregation in Bombay. He is still remembered there with affection. It is not generally known what great influence that comparatively young man had in the Christian life of Western India.

The Conference of 1919 designated Ryder Smith Warden of the Deaconess College and his friend, Maldwyn Hughes, Theological Tutor at Richmond. Then came the magnificent offer of Mr Michael Gutteridge for the founding of Wesley House. Hughes was transferred to Cambridge, Smith to Richmond and Maltby to Ilkley. Providence was at work.

It had long been apparent that Ryder Smith was cut out for some such appointment. His B.A. of London had carried with it the Scripture Prize; later he had taken a First Class in Philosophy, and in 1916 he had been awarded the D.D. of London by thesis. To the prestige of his distinguished circuit work he had been adding that of valued contributions in the councils of the Church. His articles in the *Methodist Recorder* had made him known to a wider public. By 1920 he had become a loved and honoured personality of Conference; many recall his eager eye seeking that of the President, the crisp approach to the tribune, and the sound judgement which often turned the course of debate. Among his 'concerns' were Methodist Union, women in the ministry and union in South India. Sometimes his arguments won the day and sometimes not, but it was one of his endearing characteristics that he accepted the judgement





of his brethren without question. He had his say, but if he could not carry others with him there was no rancour, and he was the first to rejoice if events proved him wrong. In 1931 he presided over the Birmingham Conference and guided the old Wesleyan Church in the last year before Union. His period of office is remembered as a notable Presidency.

He came to Richmond in September 1920 and there remained until his retirement in 1940. He was appointed in the first place as Theological Tutor, later added the Old Testament to his teaching, and from 1929 was Principal. In 1932 London University made him Professor of Theology. In 1935 he was appointed Chairman of the Board of Studies in Theology, and in 1938 Dean of the Faculty. For many years he gave University extension lectures on the Old Testament.

The record is distinguished, but the enumeration of his official positions does not begin to touch what Ryder Smith meant to the generations at Richmond in his time. At first sight he seemed austere, but many were to discover, in hours of need, what compassion lay deep in his heart. His discipline was firm, and very wise. He had, too, a kindly humour which often broke out into gusts of almost schoolboy laughter. But if he was ready to understand and help human frailties, he had no use at all for anything 'phoney'. None who heard it will ever forget the sermon in which he attacked 'men like chameleons', or that which he preached at the dedication of the College Chapel, or this sermon or that which Richmond men recall when they meet. He had none of the superficial gifts of the popular preacher, but there were graces in plenty; and many remember, for the best reasons, the clarity and conviction of his unpretentious but effectual expositions of the Word of God. As a preacher he still has, and will continue to have, wide influence through the succession of preachers on whom he set his mark.

Yet it is as a teacher that he is most honoured and will be longest remembered. He had the gift of communication and of drawing out what was in a man. He never forgot that the verb 'teach' has a double object. He expected his students to come to meet him through preparation—and he was rarely disappointed! He did not spare himself and gave many hours to the preparation of 'outlines' for distribution. He had great respect for the minds and persons of his students, and held the classroom to be a place for the exchange of views. His own convictions he held with great tenacity, for he had thought them through with all their consequences. If anyone asked a question, he had the answer, because he had already put that question to himself. There was no obstinacy. What he believed was based on considered judgements. Therefore he was open to conviction, and did in fact change his mind, even at an age when most minds are closed. When working on a book, he shared his thoughts with his friends and was grateful for suggestions. And did he not dedicate his most controversial book, *The Sacramental Society*, 'To every reader who disagrees with me'?

When he retired, the College Chairman wrote of him: 'One of the greatest men we have known or are likely to know'. Here was no exaggeration.

The name of Ryder Smith will always be knit with that of Richmond, but through his writings his influence has larger reach. Of his books, the most widely read is *What is the Old Testament?*, written in 1931 for local preachers

and candidates for the ministry, and still unsurpassed for the purpose. Here is clear exposition by a reverent and constructive thinker. The historical sketch is a compact and vivid conspectus, omitting everything of secondary importance in order to deploy the primary features of each era. The sections on the Religion of Israel (developed in 1935 in his *The Religion of the Hebrews*) cover all of real interest to one making a serious beginning on Old Testament study. The book is an example of Ryder Smith's ability to write with the simplicity of conversation, going straight to the point and presenting his own independent viewpoint. It shows how a scholar and thinker can write in a way intelligible, and of value, to the layman.

Less known to the general public, but not to Richmond men, for whom it was their introduction to theological study, is *The Christian Experience* (1926). Sub-titled 'A Study in the Theology of Fellowship', the book is an exposition of creedal beliefs in terms of the claim of the Christian to live in fellowship with Christ. It exemplifies that use of concepts and illustrations from experience which is a constant feature of his writings. Whether the derivation was deliberate or not, we can trace in Ryder Smith many parallels with Schleiermacher's *The Christian Faith*.

It is, however, when we come to the series of 'Bible Doctrines' that we touch his great achievement. What does the Bible say? Some speak as if Dr Billy Graham coined the phrase; but Ryder Smith was asking it, and answering it, for over fifty years. He told me once that, having chosen his theme, he then read through the Bible, noting everything said about it. What that means can be gauged by reference to the biblical indices at the end of each volume. Thus the 'Bible Doctrines' give us the fruit of his years of study and teaching. In all of them, Ryder Smith gives ample evidence of wide reading and sound scholarship, but more than any of his generation, he was *homo unius libri*. His raw material was the substance of the Book itself and not the theories and judgements of others; for, as he wrote, 'The Bible itself is naturally the only book authoritative in a history of Biblical theory.' He took his own line of treatment, rarely naming or criticizing other writers. His independent judgements did not rise because of any perverse delight in differing, but because, having weighed every item, he had to record his honest opinion, even when it might leave an unanswered question. His integrity remained constant. It may be that his writings are a little out of tune with the contemporary mood. But I find it strange that a generation so addicted to biblical theology should be rather lukewarm to one of the great pioneers, and I predict that the mood will pass and that another generation will return to Ryder Smith as this generation is returning to Fairbairn.

The Bible Doctrine of Society (1920) was his first publication. It contained the larger part of the D.D. thesis. He traces the development of the social ideas of the People of God, showing that, in the Bible, sociology always waits on theology. It was the first systematic account of the biblical theory of society, and Ryder Smith hoped that it might make some contribution to the method by which the Church should influence the World. In 1923 other parts of the thesis were published as *The Bible Doctrine of Womanhood*. This was a theme dear to him, moving around the main ideas of personality and the home, and stressing Jesus's new work in treating women, not as means, but as ends. The

next year the residuum of the thesis was presented in *The Bible Doctrine of Wealth and Work*, notable both in economics and exegesis. By relating Christian teaching to the Old Testament, he showed that the social problem has a history, i.e. that today conditions tomorrow and is conditioned by yesterday. Arguing that the Bible does not condemn wealth as such, but its abuse, he stressed the prophetic plea for the social principle of a man's responsibility for others. We do not go to the Bible for ready-made answers to problems, but to learn how best to promote the Kingdom. Jesus gives the pattern, sends the Spirit, and leaves us to settle our problems. In the course of this work, Ryder Smith gave currency to the word 'societary'. He preferred this to the usual 'corporate', perhaps because he thought that the Pauline figure of the body tended to ignore ways in which society is unlike the body e.g. the fact that the members of society have a will of their own. In 1945 many of the conclusions of his social and ethical teaching were summed up in a study of the social teaching of the New Testament entitled *What Do Ye?*

When Ryder Smith retired from Richmond, he gave up all his offices in the Church and took up the work of reviewing for the *London Quarterly* and of enlarging the scope of his 'Bible Doctrines'. In 1936 he was described as a 'scholar well-known for his work on the Old Testament, especially on the social and economic side'. That limited judgement could hardly stand today. The record of the second flowering is impressive: *The Bible Doctrine of Salvation*, 1941; *of Man*, 1951; *of Sin (and of the Ways of God with Sinners)*, 1953; *of Grace, and Related Doctrines*, 1956; and *of the Hereafter* (yet to be published).

Space allows no more than the barest assessment of what is characteristic of Ryder Smith's contribution to biblical theology. In each book, the New Testament is treated as the climax and completion of truths that gradually worked themselves clear in Old Testament thought. He laid great stress on the New Testament assumption that the teaching of the Old Testament is valid. In treating the latter, he drew a sharp distinction between prophet and priest, and gave minimal value to the expression of religious ideas in terms of ritual. Against the current of contemporary thought, he discounted the influence of the sacrificial system. He stressed what the prophets were, as well as what they said and did, and concentrated on the saving work of Christ *in* rather than *for* the believer. All in all he was stronger on the experimental aspects of salvation than on the varied grounds, objectively conceived, on which it is seen to rest. The protestant and evangelical emphasis here disclosed is expressed with great force in *The Sacramental Society* (the Fernley Lecture of 1927). The doctrine underlying the lecture, which firmly distinguished the sacramental and the sacerdotal, had frequent use in Ryder Smith's contribution to debates on baptism.

It was one of his greatest contributions to show how the whole of the biblical material on a theme can be organized and interpreted as a unity by some systematizing factor—and this, for the most part, a psychological concept. He writes that his long study of the Bible showed him how much it was based on certain truths about human nature, and that these offered a key to the understanding of doctrine. Again, he points out that in an age when thought forms are mainly psychological, we do right to seek the help of psychology for the expression of truth. In particular, it serves for a full exhibition of a phenomenon which

has always dominated human life, though recognized with varying degrees of clearness—that man is both corporate and individual. The individual only exists in society, and society, while it has organic unity, is nevertheless a collection of individuals. A typical paragraph from *The Bible Doctrine of Salvation*—to many his greatest book—illustrates the application of the ‘societary’ idea to the salvation of the individual:

First, if any man is to do anything to save another, in the sense of changing his character, he must identify himself with that other; he must ‘be with him where he is’; next, at the point where he seeks to change his character, he must do an altogether paradoxical thing—he must know what it is to be like that other man, yet not be like him, or, to use other words, he must at once identify himself with that other and not identify himself with him; third, just because of this tension in his experience, he will feel the horror of that other man’s sin more than the man himself; and, fourth, that other man must himself consent to be ‘one with’ his saviour.

Although this may ignore certain aspects of social solidarity prominent in ancient thought and implicit in Paul’s Adam-and-Christ teaching, it does express and illuminate the meaning of salvation.

Finally, Ryder Smith was never afraid of the unsolved problem. Often he showed that solid conclusions cannot be reached with certainty on the basis of the available evidence. He never disguised the logical inconsistencies that appear in any formulation which takes account of all the Christian data. Sometimes he used ‘antinomy’ rather than ‘paradox’ to make clear that the logical contradiction is not just apparent but real, as in e.g. God is One and Three. It was his utter integrity that made him assert that fidelity to the biblical facts and to Christian experience may require us to accept contradiction in terms.

There were illuminating moments that disclosed the whole man. Such a one occurred when he preached his final sermon in College Chapel. He gave his text: ‘I have kept the faith.’ Those present recall that the silence could be felt. Then, with that familiar rising inflection: ‘I have kept the faith . . . JUST!’ There was the secret of life and work. Whatever the occasion or theme, it was the faith that mattered—and the humility that never forgot: ‘but for the grace of God . . .’. Like one of his heroes, he knew two things: I am a great sinner, and I have a great Saviour. From the beginning he had a sense of aim and of purpose. He knew what he had to do, and he set himself, regardless of personal convenience, to do just that. I had the joy of spending a day with him within a month of his death. He told me how he had just sent off to the press the final volume of the ‘Bible Doctrines’. I had the feeling, confirmed by those nearest and dearest to him, that he knew that he had completed the work given to him to do and that his earthly life was now complete. All his life he had been growing in outlook and understanding, as well as in grace; the time had come when he needed a larger sphere for his enlarging powers. God gave him this on 23rd March. And how unspeakably richer have so many lives been for his eighty-three years.

A. MARCUS WARD

Recent Literature

An Approach to the Theology of the Sacraments, by Neville Clark. (S.C.M., 8s.)

The author believes that the present age, whose characteristic productions is the specialized monograph, displays an alarming tendency to deal with baptism and the Eucharist in a restricted and isolated fashion which completely fails to do justice to the 'wholeness' of biblical theology. He therefore examines their origin and meaning, rather than such questions as who should receive them or what are their precise effects; he considers them together, holding that they cannot be satisfactorily understood apart; and he sets them in the context of the wholeness of the Christian faith believing that a theology of the sacraments must be preceded by a consideration of the relationship between creation and redemption, of the doctrines of Christ and the Church, and of eschatology. The detailed arguments are set out with clarity and force, and in general carry conviction, though in spite of the way he qualifies his statement that 'the Church is the resurrection body of the Lord', he seems to lay upon it rather more weight than it is able to bear. The whole approach, however, is a salutary one, and the book gathers into a stimulating and coherent synthesis the detailed work of scholars in many separate fields.

J. ALAN KAY

Canaanite Myths and Legends (Old Testament Studies, No. 3), by G. R. Driver.
(T. and T. Clark, 25s.)

It is just twenty-one years since the publication of the first of the Old Testament Studies sponsored by the Society for Old Testament Study. It was an unpretentious little work by the late J. W. Jack, entitled *The Ras Shamra Tablets: Their Bearing on the Old Testament*, which provided students in this country with a useful introduction to an exciting new field in Old Testament study. The subject is still exciting, though no longer new. Some of the theories which were in favour when Jack wrote have been subjected to searching criticism. The poetical texts have been widely used to illustrate the background of Old Testament religion; and some highly debatable hypotheses have been based on the evidence which these poems are held to provide. A specially warm welcome will be accorded to the third volume of the series, which is also devoted to the material from Ras Shamra—Professor Driver's edition of the poetic texts. Its appearance is a landmark in Ugaritic studies; and it will undoubtedly fulfil the hope which the editor expresses in his Preface, by stimulating others in the study of these texts. The bulk of the book is devoted to a transliteration and translation of the texts (Keret, Aqhat, Rephaim, Hadad, Baal, Shachar and Shalim, Nikkal and the Kathirat). The arrangement of text and rendering in double columns on opposite pages is very convenient. Textual problems and difficulties of interpretation are dealt with concisely in footnotes. There is help in plenty here for the elucidation of perplexing detail. But, apart from the scholarly apparatus, the readable style of the translation (a feature not always found in translations of ancient documents) is itself a welcome help to the understanding of the poems. Because of the fragmentary nature of the texts, the problem of sequence is sometimes a perplexing one. Professor Driver provides in his introduction a clear conspectus of the contents of each poem, arranged according to

the columns of the original text, so that the reader can see, almost at a glance, the material which is available, and the points at which connecting links have been lost. These summaries are accompanied by brief interpretations of each poem. On the linguistic side, there is an excursus on philology and grammar, discussing Ugaritic in relation to other Semitic languages, and a glossary in which meanings and references to modern authorities and to the texts are presented in extraordinarily compact form. The beginner in Ugaritic studies sometimes feels that the difficulty of interpreting the texts is exceeded by that of coping with the voluminous literature on the subject. Here too, Professor Driver gives much needed help in a select bibliography, which is carefully classified and arranged. This consummate edition leaves one with two contrasted impressions: on the one hand, immense stores of learning; on the other, a classic economy in presentation. For both qualities, generations of students will be grateful.

G. W. ANDERSON

Teaching the Bible, by A. Victor Murray. (C.U.P., 18s.)

There is much useful matter in this book, and every teacher would profit by something in it. It is intended primarily for secondary schools, but Sunday-school and other church workers who want to know more about the Bible and how to present it will find much of interest. Professor Murray deals in turn with general educational principles as applied to the teaching of Scripture, with the subject-matter of the Bible, the syllabus of instruction (a short section), and methods of presentation. Particularly valuable is the account of ancient methods of writing history and the principles of the modern historical approach to the Bible. It is evident that the author has suffered much from fundamentalists, and he firmly puts these in their proper place. The main defect of the book is that it is very heterogeneous; and not all the sections, by any means, are of the same value or worth. It is sometimes difficult, too, to see what readers the author has in view. But the book is the fruit of wide experience in meeting teachers and pupils, and the writer is keen to pass on to others the lessons he has himself learned.

H. A. GUY

Into God: an Exercise in Contemplation, by R. G. Coulson. (Murray, 9s. 6d.)

Mr Coulson, who is Rector of Stansted, near Sevenoaks, set forth a method of contemplation in an earlier book, which he called *The Way Into God*. In the present volume he gives the method practical application. In a Preface he claims that widespread experiments in meditation and contemplation are taking place today, both in this country and in America, the initiative owing something to Oriental religions. These are to be found both outside and inside the Christian Church, tending in the latter instances to follow the lines of ecclesiastical tradition. Mr Coulson is concerned to foster this revival on a biblical basis, and he would like to unify all partakers in the quest for union with God by way of contemplation. He believes that to-day 'the ascent into God must be pursued in the world rather than in monastic seclusion', and is convinced that the Anglican Church is peculiarly fitted to lead such a movement. In the opening chapters he gives a concise exposition of the biblical and theological justification of the contemplative quest—from the conscious 'I am' to the self-conscious 'I am' and finally to the All-conscious or God-conscious 'I AM'—emphasizing the central importance of the two great sacraments. The rest of the book is a series of guided, contemplative exercises in a considered progression, beginning with 'Divine Peace' and proceeding to 'Divine Joy', 'Divine All-Power', 'Divine Wisdom', 'Divine Love', and finally 'I AM, the Truth'. It is a convinced, lucid and attractive presentation. There is freshness and provocativeness about the approach and, the Anglican claim notwithstanding, a breadth of spirit and an unswerving fidelity to the Scriptural grounds of

faith which will largely commend it. The 'exercises' themselves are a blend of simplicity and profundity and carry the impression of a practised mastery. They are psychologically instructed and free of pietistic extravagance. In a concluding chapter Mr Coulson stresses the essentially corporate nature of contemplative practice. It 'can only be done in groups, if there is to be any hope of success. It cannot be done in isolation.' He sees 'communities' as a possible further development.

PHIL. J. FISHER

Church Dogmatics by Karl Barth; Vol. I, Part 2, 'The Doctrine of the Word of God', trans. by Professor G. T. Thomson and Dr. H. Knight. (T. and T. Clark, 50s.)

In commenting on the reception given to the Beveridge report, a distinguished member of the House of Lords said people fell into three groups: those who applauded it, those who denounced it, and those who had read it. Something similar might be said of the reactions to Karl Barth. Thanks to the publishers and a group of zealous theologians, however, the excuse for not reading Barth because his German is too difficult will soon fall to the ground. After a lapse of twenty-one years since the first half of Vol. I was published in English, we now have the second half, with the promise that the others (eight more have appeared in German so far) will be published in six-monthly intervals. The standard of translation in this volume is high. Occasionally, as on p.583f., it falters. Occasionally a word is incorrectly translated, for example, 'shoot', not 'sucker', is the correct translation of Schoessling on p.241, l.19; 'too' would be better English as well as a better translation than 'so' on p.704, l.27; 'construction' would be better than 'constitution' on p.801, l.2; 'Jesuit' or 'Jesuitic' would be better than 'Jesuit' on p.614, l.38; 'excel' sounds awkward as a translation of *ueberbieten* on p.801, l.10; and we can think of no reason why *begehrt* is translated 'beguiled' on p.330, l.18. While on the matter of translation, and in view of the disgust of students when coming across quotations in foreign tongues in books that are supposed to be written in English, we would make an earnest plea for the translation of the Latin extracts from theological works in the forthcoming volumes. Although these quotations appear in the sections printed in smaller type, there will be many who will regret having to pass them by. The theme of this volume is the Revelation of God, and it is hardly necessary to say that the treatment is monumental and enormously stimulating. The centre is held by the Word of God, to which the Scriptures and the Church bear witness. Both these authorities may err, but that does not alter the fact that they are the indispensable witnesses to Jesus Christ the Lord, who is Himself the only final authority and who makes Himself known through the exposition of the Scriptures in the Church. In this way Revelation retains its character as event, and the freedom of God over Scripture and the Church is expressed. A few brief quotations will give an indication of Barth's thought. 'If you say "faith and works", "nature and grace", "reason and revelation", at the appropriate place you logically and necessarily have to say "Scripture and tradition". The "and" by which the authority of Holy Scripture is relativized in both Roman Catholicism and Neo-Protestantism [that is, Liberalism] is only the expression . . . of the fact that the majesty of God has been relativized in His fellowship with man. And in this primary relativizing both are equally remote from the Reformation decision' (p.557). 'The Church is no longer the Church where it does not know a higher authority than its own, or an obedience other than that of self-government' (p.575). 'It will fare ill with the Protestant Church if it is more protestant to speak of freedom than of authority . . .' (p.666). It is important to bear in mind that the value of Barth's dogmatics does not stand or fall with the acceptance or rejection of his attitude to natural theology. There is something here that is worthwhile for men of every school

and no school. The range of Barth's reading in the field of theology is colossal, and his summaries of the history of many doctrines and controversies—as, for example, of the Virgin Birth and Mariolatry—are of first-rate importance. The following misprints might be noted: p.230, 1.42; p.248, last line; p.303, l.37; p.533 'If' for 'It', l.3; p.549, last line but one; p.562, l.1; p.569, l.34; p.607, l.33; and p.652, l.8. But what are these in such an enormous undertaking? Our final words must express congratulations to translators and publishers alike for an outstanding achievement. The price is remarkably modest for such a splendid volume.

PERCY SCOTT

Religion as Salvation, by Harris Franklin Rall. (Longmans, 18s.)

This book has the subtitle, 'What Christianity is, Its Nature, Scope, and Dynamic Force'. Its author is an American Methodist minister and Professor Emeritus of Theology at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston. From one point of view, it might be described as a twentieth-century restatement of what Methodists since the eighteenth have known as 'our doctrines', although Dr Rall does not call it that. He describes his own standpoint as evangelical, biblical ('though not bibliclist'), and 'in the broad sense of the term' churchly. He writes in the conviction (for which there is some justification) that a good deal of modern theological discussion obscures the fact that Christianity offers a real, *present* salvation, even in this world, for both the individual and society. 'Men can be changed', he insists. 'They must be changed if our world is not to be destroyed. They are being changed, and Christian history is replete with the evidences of changed human lives.' In elaborating his thesis, he surveys practically the entire field of Christian theology; and that, in a book of considerably less than 300 pages, is something of a *tour de force*. It is therefore not to be wondered at if the treatment is sometimes less than profound. Justice can hardly be said to be done to the teaching of the Fathers, the Reformers, or even of Rome; and the Bible doctrine of Church and sacraments is stronger than Dr Rall's. Nevertheless, the book represents a much-needed emphasis. The gospel is a message of life and love and liberty into which men can enter here and now, with transforming consequences for themselves and the world. Not that the whole of what is meant by salvation can be had in this world, for the present experience of it points forward to, and assures us of, a consummation beyond the grave. But the present experience is a reality—and, as Dr Rall everywhere insists, a personal reality. That is to say, it can be experienced and understood only in terms of personal values and personal relationships. Into such terms he seeks to translate the great words of biblical, evangelical theology—sin, grace, justification, conversion, and so forth—so as to show their relevance for today. In consequence, his book has the not inconsiderable merit of talking theology in intelligible modern speech and in close contact with the realities of modern life. It is a book for the layman rather than the expert, and it contains a useful bibliography with suggestions for further reading.

PHILIP S. WATSON

The Imperial Intellect: A Study of Cardinal Newman's Educational Ideal, by A. Dwight Culler. (Yale Univ. Press: London, Cumberlege, 40s.)

'To me conversions were not the chief thing, but the edification of Catholics. . . . The Church must be prepared for converts, as well as converts for the Church. . . . From first to last, education, in this large sense of the word, has been my line.' This quotation from Cardinal Newman's *Journal* is used by Professor Dwight Culler, of the University of Illinois, to introduce a chapter on secular and religious knowledge. It can also serve to illustrate the importance and value of this very able study of Newman's attitude to university education. Those who are concerned with the

problems of higher education will find this a very rewarding book, and the author fully establishes his contention that in Newman there was a most profound examination of the relation of higher education to religion and the whole question of living. The first part of the book is a careful study of Newman's own education, which formally ended with his election to a Fellowship at Oriel. The giants of the Oriel Common Room, Coplestone, Whately, Keble, and Hawkins, each made their mark on the young Fellow, and in spite of his conversion to Roman Catholicism, these influences remained with Newman to the end of his life. Especially the ideas expressed in the founding of the Catholic University of Ireland can be traced back partly to this source. In passing, one wonders to what extent the University College of North Staffordshire is also under this same Oriel influence. Certainly the conception of a foundation year, in which all students are given an introduction to a general education at university level, would seem to express Newman's view that the prime function of a university is to show a real unity of all knowledge. It is outside the scope of the book to discuss Newman's religious pilgrimage, and a good deal of his work in educational thought seems to be independent of his religious position. There is a full discussion of Newman's part in opposing the admission of Dissenters to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also his bitter criticism of the proposed new University of London. These objections arose out of Newman's conceptions of the religious basis of education, which he considered essentially linked with the State Church. The fact that the Catholic University in Dublin was strangely free from religious tests shows how much Newman advanced in thought, and incidentally points to the supremacy of the conception of a liberal education in his mind. The second part of the book is an exposition of Newman's treatise called 'The Idea of a University'. These were Rector's lectures delivered at the foundation of the Catholic University in Dublin. In them Newman discusses many subjects connected with the aim and methods of a university. He believed that the proper end of such an institution should be the training of the human intellect, which is really an end in itself. The man of philosophic habit does not need any more justification than himself, for to think and observe is the highest activity in which man can be engaged. 'The end of education is the human being himself, the simple perfection of his own nature. It is not the means of transforming the world, but rather of transforming ourselves.' The last chapters deal with the religion of philosophy, and with the relation between secular and religious knowledge. The latter subject entails an examination of the relation between science and religion; in the famous controversy about evolution, Newman had more sympathy with Darwin than most contemporary religious leaders. His attitude to pagan and even heretical learning was so accommodating that his Bishop greatly suspected his ready acceptance of such matters into the syllabus of a Catholic university. But Newman believed that there could be no contradiction in truth itself, and because dogma was undeniably true, all science would be bound to agree with dogma, or itself be proved false. Professor Culler has given us a most interesting and reliable account of this versatile and creative mind. He quotes freely from the extensive writings of Newman, and handles the material in a most persuasive and readable manner. All who are concerned with any aspect of Christian education will find this a most rewarding book to read. There is an unfortunate 'printer's omission' at the top of p.204.

WILLIAM STRAWSON

The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury, edited by Marjorie Chibnall. (Nelson, 20s.) The inclusion of John of Salisbury's letters and the *Historia Pontificalis* in Nelson's admirable series of medieval texts is very welcome. Since the publication of Webb's critical edition of the *Polycreticus* in 1910 and Poole's learned edition of the *Historia*

Pontificalis in 1926 there has been an increasing interest in John of Salisbury. He was a contemporary of Thomas Becket, a pupil of Abelard, and one of the most attractive figures of the Middle Ages. He was a humanist, a scholar, a master of classical Latin, and a keen observer of his fellow men, with a ready wit and a ready pen. His attitude in many ways is extraordinarily modern, for he has just that slight touch of cynicism about the great ones of the earth which can nevertheless accompany a warm appreciation. For instance, he records with relish the remark of Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers, about St Bernard. The saint as usual was interfering in everything, but when it came to theology Gilbert suggested that he might learn a little before he began talking about it! John also tells the curious story of the mishap while the Pope was celebrating Mass in Rheims Cathedral and some of the consecrated wine was spilt on the carpet. The Pope had this bit of the carpet cut out and placed among the relics as containing the blood of our Lord! These 'Memoirs of the Papal Court', as Miss Chibnall translates them, although they cover just a few years, are not only interesting in themselves, but of considerable historical value. John was present at the Council of Rheims in 1148 and at the trial of strength between Gilbert de la Porrée and St Bernard, and he gives us a vivid account of both antagonists. He appreciated both of them, and at the same time he saw their little weaknesses. The Second Crusade preached by St Bernard aroused in him no enthusiasm at all, and he shows up the worldliness of the leaders and their racial and national antagonisms. He also gives us a vivid account of Arnold of Brescia (another pupil of Abelard) and the troubles that he created in Rome. John was in the service of the Pope and so was in a peculiarly favourable position as a chronicler. He afterwards came to England in the train of Archbishop Theobald, and later he passed into the service of Thomas Becket. In Becket's quarrel with Henry II John was on Becket's side, but he could also see the King's point of view, which Becket could not, and he tried to restrain his master. It was of no avail, and John was with the Archbishop on that fatal day in 1170 when he was murdered in his own Cathedral.

A. VICTOR MURRAY

The Fourth Gospel: An Expository Commentary, by J. Alexander Findlay, M.A., D.D.
(Epworth Press, 12s.)

There are few scholars who have pondered more lovingly or imaginatively upon the Gospels than Dr Findlay. For him the Gospels have been the focus of the zeal of a lifetime. As a young man, Dr Findlay came much under the influence of that great and devout scholar, Dr J. Rendel Harris. Rendel Harris taught Findlay many things, but not least that 'study is such fun.' When a former President of the Methodist Conference said at the beginning of his Presidential year, 'Let us have fun in the name of the Lord,' his remark was not so irreverent as it seemed to some, and within bounds points a proper approach both to Christian action and to Christian scholarship. Study is not dull; neither is devotion, when it is conducted in the presence of Him who today is more alive than any who write about Him. Moreover, familiar as the biblical records of the life of our Lord may be, there is always in them some startling, unexpected aspect that makes the student feel that his feet yet tread land unexplored. During the years, Dr Findlay has made several lonely journeys into the land of Johannine studies. Some of his resultant suggestions, especially about the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, have disturbed the pundits, and this new book will not find favour at all points in orthodox circles. But nowhere here do we find the dogmatism of one who oversimplifies and imagines he has thereby solved a complicated issue. Take, for example, Dr Findlay's treatment of the enigmatic phrase, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved', whom he identifies with Lazarus (itself an assumed name); about this identification he says: 'All that I can say by way of defence against the charge of over-fanciful

theorizing is that the only way to the discovery of an explanation of facts is the gradual elimination of alternatives. . . . I have been led to accept it very tentatively because it seems to me to offer an explanation of a series of statements made by witnesses in whose good faith I believe' (p.18). This volume, which is much to be commended, is valuable not only for its lucid treatment of the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the other 'Johannine books, and for its penetrating analysis of the Prologue of the Gospel, but above all for its vivid expository notes on all the main themes of the Johannine teaching and witness. Preachers will find in Dr Findlay's notes much food for thought, but there is, happily enough, little in this book that can be reproduced before it is thoroughly pondered and digested. It is a miracle of compression, and is not intended for superficial study. Much stress is laid on the actual words of Jesus—'His words are, in fact, Himself . . .'. 'Our evangelist would have no patience with the view so often expressed nowadays, to the effect that Jesus Himself, not His teaching, is what really matters to us' (p.71). Dr Findlay would have us believe that there are more *ipsissima verba* of Christ in the Fourth Gospel than many allow, and his book throughout substantiates the authenticity, if not the chronology, of this Gospel. One of the most fruitful chapters in the book deals with the Passion story, and in it we share the Evangelist's vision of 'the shameful tree' which had become a throne. His 'hour', which had now come, when He should be lifted up that He might draw all men unto Him, was the supreme moment of history; the work of redemption had been accomplished, and He who overcame the sharpness of death opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. Dr Findlay's book will help many to enter further therein.

JOHN W. WATERHOUSE

Galilean Christianity, by L. E. Elliott-Binns. (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.)

This exceedingly lucid and well-written brochure is a welcome sign of the times. The author quotes in his Preface a short paragraph written by the Editors of the *Expository Times*. 'Is it possible', they ask, 'that after a generation deeply influenced by Form Criticism . . . we are entering into a more constructive period? Have we parted with the delusion that the earliest tradition consisted of a formless mass of isolated stories, that the Marcan outline is no more than a literary construction, and that after Pentecost the original witnesses of the Galilean ministry were afflicted with a persistent form of dumbness?' The present reviewer sought more than thirty years ago to bring out the fact—which he has never seen reason to doubt—that the Synoptic evangelists all manifest in different ways superb intellectual as well as spiritual qualities, and it would almost seem that the wheel may come full circle. Canon Elliott-Binns takes up what we call the 'Galilean' question from another angle of approach. He rejects the suggestion, made first by Hoskyns and supported lately by Dr Boobyer, that Galilee in the Gospels sometimes represents symbolically (as in Matt. 14₁₅) the Gentile world, though it has always seemed to me that the 'feeding of the four thousand' might cease to be a mere doublet of the first miraculous feeding in Mark's pattern if the second crowd was largely composed of Gentiles. In that case it would also clearly fit in very well with the interview with the Syro-Phoenician which precedes it. Moreover, it would give meaning to the statement of the First Evangelist that 'They glorified the God of Israel', which seems a pointless remark unless the people who did so were Gentiles. I have left myself little space to deal adequately with the rest of this very valuable little book. In the course of his argument, the author has some interesting things to say about the 'Epistle General of James'. Perhaps it is worth while to mention in this connexion that, at the last meeting of the 'Society of New Testament Studies', which I was privileged to attend at Oxford, the view was propounded, and won, I thought, general acceptance, that in 1 Corinthians 15,

there is mention of James (the Lord's brother) and 'all the apostles' (who are clearly differentiated from 'the twelve'—who have already been referred to in verse 5), because our Lord appeared to James in Galilee, and commissioned him to get into touch with his Galilean followers, of whom there must have been very many. Those described as 'all the apostles' would then be James's messengers, sent to bring these followers to the rendezvous (the 'mountain in Galilee' of Matt. 28₁₈), and the words 'some doubted' would refer to some of the followers, not to the apostles. There were originally *three*, not twelve, apostles, and they were Peter (to the Jewish dispersion), James (to the Palestinian constituency of Jesus) and Paul (to the Gentiles). They are named in Paul's list, because they were 'ordained', so to say, for a lifelong commission to a definite constituency by the risen Lord Himself. How strange that Galilean Christianity should have lived on in some forms of Islam!

J. A. FINDLAY

Mark in the Greek New Testament for the English Reader, by Kenneth S. Wuest.
(Pickering & Inglis, 17s. 6d. net.)

This is the tenth volume of a series of word-by-word commentaries meant to help the reader who has no knowledge of Greek. The Author has, it will be seen, taken great pains to translate the single Greek words of the text into plain English, and there can be little doubt about the value of doing so in the mind of anyone who knows how comparatively few preachers of the gospel know any Greek at all. But it is very difficult indeed to review a book of this kind. Inevitably the reviewer, unable to read the whole book right through, tends to look up his favourite passages, and see what the writer has to say about them; and almost inevitably he is disappointed. The general criticism I should make upon page after page of this laborious exposition is that the author almost entirely ignores all the questions which have occupied the minds of Christian expositors during recent years. To take an instance from Mark 1₁₅. He writes: 'The old order was giving place to a new one, the dispensation of law to the announcement of the good news as later defined, the Kingdom of Heaven, namely, the Messianic earth rule of Messiah. But that, rejected by Israel, the gospel of grace and the age of Grace would be brought in, with the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ functioning in the interim between the rejection of Israel and its dispersion A.D. 70, and its regathering for the Millennial Kingdom.' To this all I can say is: 'The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed.' There is not a word about the question whether the Kingdom had come with Jesus or was thought of as shortly to come, which has agitated Christian scholars ever since Schweitzer's time! Again, when we come to the story of the paralysed man borne by four in Chapter 2, we are told, under the words, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee', that our sins are 'put away by the outpoured blood of Christ. He paid the penalty the broken law required, and thus satisfied divine justice.' What in the world has this to do, however true it may be, with this simple gospel story? In many places the author shows some knowledge of various reading in early texts (though he misses the most interesting and widely-attested of them all—'being angry' in 1₄₀, 'Being moved with compassion', a reading now accepted by most scholars), but though he mentions the fact that the last few verses of the Gospel are perhaps not by the evangelist, he treats them as part of the text. Whether this procedure is justifiable or not depends upon the purpose of the commentary, but it seems to be the duty of a reviewer to let the intending purchaser know what to expect, and I have sought to do so.

J. A. FINDLAY

Hebrews in the Greek New Testament for the English Reader, by Kenneth S. Wuest.
(Pickering & Inglis, 17s 6d.)

This is the ninth volume of the series of word-by-word commentaries on books of the

New Testament, and is, to the present reviewer's mind, much superior to the commentary on Mark's Gospel which he has just been called upon to review. It is obvious that the Epistle to the Hebrews lends itself much more readily to the author's method, and repays the close analysis of Greek words better than Gospel phrases like 'the Kingdom of God' do. The author has used his 'Moulton-Milligan' well, and makes use of tools which the study of the Hellenistic papyri have provided, some of which indeed modern translators have strangely missed—the 'title-deed' translation for 'substance' in Hebrews 11, for instance. Where the author seems to have fallen short is in his failure to explain what is meant by such phrases as 'symbol' and 'type'. One wants to ask many questions. Had such a dispensation as 'the sacrificial system', which lasted for centuries, any spiritual value of its own, and if so, what? Is it conceivable that an imperfect medium of revelation can be instituted by God and maintained for centuries, simply in order to prepare for something better to take its place? If 'prophets and kings' saw the better thing in vision, yet died without the realization of their dreams, is that not sacrificing many generations for the sake of a distant posterity? On the literal fundamentalist theory of inspiration obviously held by the author, there seems to be no answer to such questions. If, on the other hand, we are prepared to admit, as the writer to the Hebrews seems to imply, that the Bible contains not one thing but two, not merely an inspired account of God's revelation to man, but also an inspired account of man's search for God, we can see that the same truth is ever being broken up into the colours of the spectrum, the many instalments and the different manners of past, present and future. One unchanging reality is expressing itself through the medium of the dedicated mind and spirit of man, which must be sensitized through a long process until it can at last focus the living word. What the reader feels he needs in this careful exposition is not merely an analysis of Greek words used in the New Testament, but of words used by the expositor himself. With that important proviso, I can conscientiously recommend this commentary to the preacher, as I could not the one on Mark's Gospel.

J. A. FINDLAY

The Key to Ephesians, by Edgar J. Goodspeed. (University of Chicago Press. C.U.P. 19s.)

The name of Professor E. J. Goodspeed is an honoured one among New Testament scholars. It was as far back as 1898 that he was appointed to the staff of the University of Chicago, which he served until his retirement in 1937. He has made distinguished contributions to many spheres of New Testament study, and also to the study of the Apostolic Fathers. Unhappily, the difficulties created for the book trade by the war, and by post-war conditions and the continuing obstacle of the dollar exchange, have combined to make his books less well known in this country than they deserve to be; so we welcome cordially this new book of his which is being distributed on this side of the Atlantic by the Cambridge University Press. It deals with one New Testament problem for which Professor Goodspeed has suggested a most interesting and attractive solution. Other books by the same author have made this known, but here it is presented clearly and concisely, and the evidence on which it is based is set out fully and convincingly. A little more than twenty years ago Professor Goodspeed accepted the Pauline authorship of Ephesians, and lectured to students on that basis, but increasingly the difficulties of that assumption pressed themselves upon his notice. These difficulties he lists—twenty-one of them. Some of the most notable spring from the curiously close relationship of this letter to Colossians, and from the remarkable way in which the other letters of Paul are echoed in it. These interrelationships are clearly indicated in this book by means of a table of parallel columns. In the first the text of Ephesians is printed (Revised Standard Version), in the second the parallels

in Colossians, and in the third parallels from the other letters. These tables occupy the larger part of the book, and are indispensable for an adequate study of the problem. The major contribution of Professor Goodspeed, however, is not in enumerating the difficulties of Pauline authorship, but in reconstructing a situation in which Ephesians may have been written by a disciple of Paul about the year A.D. 90. He argues that Paul's letters were largely neglected, once they had served the purpose for which they were written. Then Acts was published, and a disciple of the Apostle, who for personal reasons already knew Colossians and Philemon, was roused to seek for other letters. 'Picture the situation', writes Dr Goodspeed. 'An Asian Christian, long possessed of Colossians and Philemon . . . would see in the narrative of Acts the possibility of further letters. Acts could, obviously did, tell him where to look for possible further church letters of Paul, to find Galatians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Corinthians, and Romans.' This disciple, with the great treasure of the Pauline Corpus before him, felt that letters addressed to special situations in remote churches needed some more general introduction, presenting the Apostle's thoughts as of universal relevance. So he produced Ephesians, to serve as such an introduction, and constructed it as far as possible from the material of the actual letters, using predominantly Colossians, because he had known it so long. If we ask who this compiler was, Dr Goodspeed is willing to guess that it might have been Onesimus, who was bishop of Ephesus at the end of the first century, and who was perhaps the same man as the Onesimus on whose behalf 'Philemon' was written. Those who have not felt the difficulties of Pauline authorship will feel no attraction for this solution. But those who have been puzzled by them will find in this book the key which may solve that puzzle.

C. LESLIE MITTON

The Prophets: Pioneers to Christianity, by Walter G. Williams. (Abingdon Press via Epworth Bookshop, \$3.50.)

Numerous as works on the prophetic religion are, they yet leave room for a book so clearly arranged and generally well written as this. The reader is never in danger of losing interest, and wherever he turns he is likely to find valuable information concisely stated. Professor of Old Testament Literature at Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado, the author, who is chiefly concerned with the questions of the functions of the Hebrew prophets, their relationship to other religious leaders of their time, their special contribution to religious thought, and their relevance for the twentieth century. The book is arranged in three parts. Part I includes a brief survey of new sources of knowledge, a very useful chapter on the modern view of the Old Testament, and a discussion of the relation of priest and prophet in which Dr Williams shows not only that he is familiar with recent work on this subject, but also that he is not completely under the spell of the extreme theorists. Part II is a study of the major concepts of the prophetic religion. Dr Williams points out that this involves more than the consideration of that actually appears under the names of the prophets; it is necessary 'to understand the religious climate in which they lived', and with this in view he draws freely on the extra-prophetic literature in dealing, in the course of six valuable chapters, with such subjects as religion and morality, magic and worship, immortality, and the Messiah. In Part III Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are considered, the emphasis being on the personalities of these prophets. The treatment is vivid and stimulating.

It is inevitable that in a book which deals with so many aspects of an immense subject there will be some statements with which other students will not be in full agreement. When Dr Williams calls symbolic action 'imitative' or 'mimetic magic' (pp.51, 52, 201), some will feel that there is a rather unnecessary confusion of terms,

since any satisfactory definition of magic must embody the idea of coercing or controlling supernatural powers. Again, the statement on p.112 that 'the Psalms are not prophecy in any sense of the term, but are lyrics of the national poets' appears to pass somewhat lightly by a vast quantity of recent work on the Psalter. On p.140 there is the sentence 'Until the psychoanalytic tool was developed, the interpretation of dreams was left entirely to charlatans'. This seems a hard saying in view of the possibility that prophets, and the certainty that some later religious teachers, sometimes received enlightenment in dreams. Also, we do not all find it as easy as Dr Williams to believe that *all* the prophets of Yahweh had official standing within the cultic pattern (p.50).

But such matters must not be allowed to call attention from the excellence of most of what Dr Williams has written. This is a book which will make rough places plain for all who seek to understand the prophets, and which the teacher and the preacher will find stimulating and inspiring.

J. Y. MUCKLE

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